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THE WHOLE WORKS

OF ROGER ASCHAM,

NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND REVISED,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY THE

REV. DR GILES,

FORMERLY FELLOW OF C. C. C.,
OXFORD.

VOL. II.

LETTERS CONTINUED, AND TOXOPHILUS.

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JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

In this second volume of Ascham's works are contained the rest of his *Letters*, written between the years 1559 and 1568, (whilst Elizabeth was queen), and the *Toxophilus*. As a full account of the Letters has been given in Vol. I, it is unnecessary to speak about them here; and of the *Toxophilus* a few words only are needful.

The first edition of the work was printed in quarto, London, 1545. It was reprinted 1571, and a third London edition in 1589. An octavo edition appeared at Wrexham in 1588: and the work is found in all the editions of the English Works.

The text given in this volume is that of the first edition, with no other change than modernizing the spelling, except in old words, which were evidently pronounced then differently from now, and in these words the old spelling has been kept. A glossary of old words has been added, on the plan adopted by Mr Mayor in his excellent edition of the *School-master*.

J. A. G

Cranford, Aug. 1864.

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LETTERS

OF

ROGER ASCHAM AND OTHERS.

(Continued.)

I.—TO CHARLES, DUKE OF AUSTRIA (L, 88).

On behalf of Queen Elizabeth, declining his offer of marriage.

Jan. 11, 1559.

IN *answer to C., Duke of Austria.—Elizabetha, &c.*—Legimus literas vestras vestra manu scriptas, quas illustris comes ab Helfenstein nobis tradidit. Ex quibus perspicue intelligimus eximiam vestram erga nos voluntatem: quam ita probamus, ut nemini principi in omni mutuæ benovolentiæ studio libentius respondere audeamus; verum eo quidem modo, ut amicitia nostra in benevolentiæ ratione, non in maritali negotio, consistere videatnr. Nam quum Deus, in cujus manu corda nostra sunt, animum nostrum hactenus ad nullam inclinationem matrimonialem dirigat, haud dubitamus, quin et consilio prudentissimi patris et prudentia etiam vestra, quam audimus esse valde singularem, velit celsitudo vestra candide ac benevole responsum hoc nostrum interpretari. Deus vestræ celsitudini omnem florentissimam felicitatem et longissimos annos concedat. xi Januarii, 1559.

Si alienos subditos recipimus, videbimur facere contra officium boni vicini. Si miseros profugos barbarorum more ab hospitio arcebimus, in Christianam caritatem peccabimus.

II.—TO MARGARET, DUCHESS OF PARMA, (L, 92.)

Asks her interference to redress a wrong by which some Belgian merchants had endeavoured to attach money due to the queen in discharge of a private debt.

Westminster, Jan. 26, 1559.

Illustrissimæ principi D. Margaretæ duci Parmæ in regionibus Belgicis pro serenissimo rege catholico Regenti, consanguineæ nostræ carissimæ.—Illustrissima princeps, consanguinea carissima—EDVARDUS BASCHE fidelis noster subditus et perdilectus famulus muneris parandi commeatus meæ classi præfectus proximo superiori anno ex copia annonæ nostræ navalis tantum commodavit exhibuitque clarissimo domino Adolpho a Burgundia præfecto classis serenissimi principis et fratris nostri carissimi D. Philippi Hispaniarum regis, quantum accessit ad valorem 428 *lib.* 10 *sol.* 4 *den.* sterling. Pars hujus debiti soluta est; reliquam debiti partem ad 210 *lib.* 17 *sol.* 4 *den.* duo mercatores vestrates Joannes Vander Lueren et Ægidius Hostman nomine privati cujusdam debiti, quod sibi a prædicto Edvardo Basche deberi prætendebant, istie curaverunt arrestari. Sed quum istorum mercatorum factum et re iniquum et exemplo non ferendum videretur, ut nimirum prætextu privati debiti nostra detineretur pecunia, injunctum fuit Edvardo Basche ut procuratorem Ægidii Hostman Londini hic agentem variasque ejus merces arrestari curaret, hoc nomine, ut ista pecuniæ meæ sequestratio injuste facta jure denuo relaxaretur. Tandem quo opportunius omnia componerentur, communi consensu sic ad arbitros rejecta est; qui rem sic terminarunt: primum ut Ægidius Hostman pro sua parte arrestationem factam dissolve-

ret; deinde ut pecuniam nobis debitam Edvardo Basch nostro nomine persolveret; postea ut Edvardus Basche vicissim nostro nomine omnem illi cederet actionem, quæ ratione pecuniæ illius nobis a D. Adolpho de Burgundia debitæ ei intentata fuit. Et quum hæc utrinque ita conclusa terminataque fuerunt, scribendum ad vestram excellentiam ab eaque petendum esse duximus ut vestra auctoritate atque jussu etiam Joan. Vander Luren nequaquam prætextu sui privati debiti justam nostræ pecuniæ solutionem impediat. Sin vero justam causam habeat aliquam vel contra Edvardum Basche, vel contra quosvis alios subditos meos, libenter illi concedemus ut jus suum plene persequatur. Interim vero petimus ut Ægidius Hostman cessionarius noster libere integreque suo immo nostro jure uti fruique possit. Curabimusque nos ut in simili rerum vestrarum ratione, quum par opportunitas postulat, idem quoque favor meus atque auctoritas ad vestrum rogatum cumulate vicissim rependatur. Deus etc.—26 Januarii, Westm. 1559.

III.—TO FREDERICK, KING OF DENMARK,

(L, 87.)

Thanks him for his letter dated 17th of last December.

Westminster, Feb. 6, 1559.

Frederico regi Daniæ.—Elizabetha Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ et Hib. Regina, etc. Serenissimo Principi Domino Friderico Secundo Daniæ, etc.—Serenissime princeps, Frater, consanguinee et amice charissime.—Acceptæ nobis et pergratæ extiterunt literæ vestræ xvii° die mensis Decembris Niburgi datæ, quas ad nos FRIDERICUS vir militaris attulit. In quibus nobilis

vir HEBRADUS á LANGEN propter suam in re militari peritiam atque fidem a vestra serenitate de meliori nota nobis commendatus est. In eisdem quoque literis insigne præcipuæ cujusdam vestræ erga nos benevolentiæ studium et animus vere fraternus illustri sane modo enitebat. Non enim in mediocris amoris sed singularis pietatis loco deputamus curam illam, quam vestra serenitas et meæ tuendæ dignitatis et regni itidem nostri constituendæ incolumitatis, tam amice fraterneque suscepisse videatur. Itaque si hoc animo necessitas nobis belli gerendi incubuerit, eam rationem HERBRADI á LANGEN sumus habituræ, quam pro usu ipsius viri, proque rogatu serenitatis vestræ habere debeamus. Si par aliquando vel rerum vestrarum vel regni vestri usus consimilem animi nostri erga vos atque studii propensionem exigat, nec minus paratæ ad gratam memores nec minus propositæ ad mutuam benevolentiam unquam reperiemur. Deus etc.—vi° Feb. Westm. 1559.

IV.—TO COSMO, DUKE OF FLORENCE (L, 77).

Asks the duke to pay the queen a sum of money which has been long due, but, owing to the wars in Italy, not yet paid.

Westminster, Feb. 20, 1559.

Domino Cosmo Florentiæ duci, &c.—Illustrissime P. consanguinee et amice carissime.—De pecunia illa, quam nobis a vestra excellentia deberi constat, denuo scribendum esse duximus. Jam enim quum Italia omni belli et periculo et metu Dei benignitate feliciter vacat, non dubitamus quin illius debitionis expediendæ rationem nunc primo quoque tempore vestra sit excellentia habitura. Nam, ut vestro rogatu, tempore belli solutionis illius pecuniæ facilis concessa est dilatio; sic nunc

ejusdem expedita solutio ad certum rerum nostrarum magnum usum opportuna nobis esset (atque) necessaria. Itaque rem gratam nobis faciet vestra excellentia, si certum aliquem illius pecuniæ solvendæ eumque valde propinquum diem nobis per literas suas constituat. Ad quem diem expectamus ut BARTHOLOMÆUS COMPAGNI Florentinus, mercator Londinensis, vestro jussu atque nomine hujus pecuniæ debitionem apud ærarii nostri præfectos recte explicet pleneque conficiat. Quæ vestra humanitas non magis ipsa re quam opportunitate grata nobis et accepta erit. Quam nos et grato vicissim studio, et mutuo benevolentiæ officio, quando et quoties res ferat, libenter reponemus. Deus &c.

Westmonaster. 20 Feb. 1559.

V.—SIR T. SMITH TO PARKER AND LEEDS (5, 47).

Regrets the quarrels which are going on in St John's College, and hopes that Dr Parker and Mr Leeds, who had been appointed arbitrators, will settle them.

London, March 21, 1559.

Dignissimis, Procancellario Cantabrigiensi Domino Doctori Parkero, et Magistro Leeds.—Ægerrime quidem fero, quod in eo collegio, in quo primum educatus et quasi ut ita dicam fere natus fuerim, hæ sunt exortæ controversiæ, per quas, si quidem leges et statuta collegii fuerint non ad æquum et bonum sed ad jus strictum exactæ, alteram necesse est partem exactum iri. Sed id me rursus consolatur, quod ad vos, ut audio, refertur caussa tota, qui componere potius per æquitatem, quam ad extremum eam intorquere velitis. Quid sentiam in tota caussa, GASCONUS amicus meus, qui idem et leges et statuta nostri collegii norit optime, potest narrare. Vos oro, ut æquum bonumque sectantes

id spectetis, quod collegium illud non imminuere, sed auctoritate vestra possit augere. Bene valete.—Londini, XXI Martii, 1559, Anno Elizabethæ primo.

Amicus vester THOMAS SMITHUS.

VI.—TO VAL. ERYTHRÆUS (3, 33).

Compliments him about his writings on oratory.

April, 1559.

Valentino Erythræo Lindaviensi.—Ea ingenii, doctrinæ, judiciique præstantia mihi semper in JOANNE STURMIO elucere visa est, doctissime ERYTHRÆE, ut non cum nostræ ætatis hominibus conferri, sed in eorum numero potius reponi debeat, quos Deus in utraque urbe, utriusque linguæ principes et præceptores, ad omnis posteritatis et summum usum et maximam admirationem excitavit. Et quantum consentiens eruditorum vox huic excellenti viro tribuit, quod pro summa ingenii sui luce disserendi dicendique doctrinam felicissime partiendo tradiderit, tantum universæ literarum scholæ, et tibi quoque, mi ERYTHRÆE, debent, qui præclaro studio, industria, ingenio, et judicio, oratoriarum partitionum perfectissimos σχηματίσμους confeceris. Atque, quum ipse casu, his superioribus diebus in hujus laboris tui et mentionem et laudem apud honestissimum juvenem MATTHÆUM NEGELINUM inciderim, et is statim mihi singularem eruditionem tuam, morum et humanitatis tuæ maximam suavitatem declaraverit, vix credibile esse potest, quas subito faces ad te perpetuo diligendum admoverit mihi eximia illa probitatis tuæ vis, quæ in NEGELINI sermone, jucundissimaque commemoratione tui, tanquam speculo aliquo, mirifice elucebat. Hic vero labor tuus sic omnium judicio comprobatus est, ut

nihil potius optemus quam ut eundem laborem, in *Rhetorica* ARISTOTELIS *ad Theodecten*, JOANNIS STURMII præstanti ingenio explicato susciperes. MATTHÆUS NEGELINUS ostendit mihi, quam industrius artifex sis in conjungendis oratorum exemplis cum rhetorum præceptis: nihil est, quod majorem aut lucem literis aut commoditatem studiis adfert. Hoc docet unus ille locus apud CICERONEM in *Partitionibus Oratoriis*, de conversa oratione atque mutata, tam illustri exemplorum appositione a JOANNE STURMIO explicatus, ut has tres paginas integris aliorum commentariis facile anteponerem. Utinam sibi amputarent reliquos labores; et in congerendis exemplis, ubi nimis parci et restricti sunt, diligenti animadversione, delectu et judicio adhibito, quantumvis prolixi et largi esse velint. Luculente explicat præceptum, qui aptum adjungit exemplum; tu hortatione mea non eges ut hoc facias, nisi fortasse consilium suavissimi poëtæ sequeris, dicentis:—

> Qui monet ut facias quod jam facis, ipse monendo
> Laudat, et hortatu comprobat acta suo.

Quod tam audacter ad te scribo, non multum curo, si prudentiam in me desideres, quoniam solius benevolentiæ ratio hoc tempore mihi omnino proposita fuit. Et hoc amicitiæ constituendæ initium, quod nulla lucri sordida suspicio, sed eruditionis atque humanitatis commendatio sola excitavit, aut tacitus silentio improbabis, aut mutuum tuum in amore respondendi studium, literis tuis libenter declarabis. Vale in Christo Jesu. Mense Aprilis Anno Dom. 1559.

VII.—TO COSMO, DUKE OF TUSCANY (I, 101).

For the queen—Asks that a time shall be fixed for the repayment of a debt. Greenwich, July 4, 1559.

Illustrissimo et excellentissimo P. D. Cosmo, duci Florentiæ, consang. et amico carissimo.—Illustrissime P. cons. et carissime.—Intelligimus ex nostris consiliariis vestram excellentiam certam pecuniæ summam nobis debere. Solutio istius pecuniæ, ut iidem ad nos referunt, his proximis superioribus annis quum Italia bello vexabatur, vestro rogatu aliquamdiu ad pacatiora tempora dilata sunt [est]. Nunc vero quum Dei Optimi Maximi benignitate pax ubique feliciter constituta est, non dubitamus quin vestra excellentia de certa et explicata hujus pecuniæ solvendæ ratione cogitatura est. Itaque si negotium dederit vestra excellentia BART. COMPAGNI, cum quo de hoc negotio jam tractari curavimus, aut certis aliis vestris procuratoribus, ut hæc pecuniæ debitio expediatur, res erit nobis valde grata: quam nos omni humanitatis atque benevolentiæ ratione, quandocunque opportunitas postulabit, libenter compensabimus.—4 Julii, Grenvici, 1559.

VIII.—TO QUEEN ELIZABETH (4, 51).

On behalf of some London merchants, asking the queen to obtain redress from some Spaniards who had seized their ships at Gibraltar about the 20th of last November.

Serenissimæ Principi D. Elizabethæ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Reginæ.—Pro quibusdam mercatoribus Londinensibus. — Serenissima princeps, Domina nostra clementissima. Nos (N.) mercatores civitatis Londini, una cum aliis aliarum urbium maritimarum

mercatoribus, hoc superiori anno, factores nostros cum octo navibus, more nostro jam per multos annos solito, in Hispaniam negotiandi gratia misimus. Et quum circiter vicesimum diem proximi superioris mensis Novembris, omni sua mercatura amice et perhumaniter transacta cum gente Hispanica, et rebus jam cunctis ad reditum paratis, in portu Gibelterræ in ancoris stantes secundum expectarent ventum ; ecce, navis Gallica Rhotomagensis eundem ingressa portum, in contumeliam Anglicæ gentis, militibus hostili more in armis effusis in transtra navis, cum insolenti insignium jactatione et gladiorum vibratione, nostrorum animos mirum in modum incitavit. Et licet universi hanc contumeliam ægre tulerint, una tamen navis, plus reliquis ad frangendam et coercendam hanc injuriam irritata, Gallicam aggreditur navem ; et aliquot utrinque occisis subito tanta vis tormentorum, ex oppido, in omnes nostras naves explosa est, ut sublatis ancoris in tutiorem prope istinc locum se omnes recipere coacti fuerint. Die perendino adest Don. Alvarus præfectus maris cum quinque triremibus regiis, qui adoriens nostros, et aliquot emissis globis, nemine nostrorum repugnante, sed pacate quieteque omnibus cedentibus illi utpote summo regio magistratui, in naves nostras invadit : mercatores in carcerem, nautæ ad remum, omnes in vincula compinguntur. Naves, ejectis Anglis, novis et occupantur dominis et armantur militibus. Commeatus omnis aut exeditur aut dissipatur, merces misere distrahuntur ; spoliantur et suis naves armamentis et homines suis bonis, etiam his, quæ ad quotidianam corporis necessitatem protegendam comparantur. Mercatores inscii hujus facti et tum temporis absentes in oppido, rerum suarum quiete satagentes, in fœdos tamen carceres inter fures conjici-

untur: nec ratio cujusquam hominis nec discrimen ullius facti habetur. Una navis quicquid factum est admisit; in omnes tamen promiscue sævitum est. Non in facta certorum hominum, sed in cogitata, pro suo arbitratu, singulorum animadversum est, quum tamen, sine ratione, contra jus, sine exemplo, contra morem gentium existat, ut factum et cogitatum, in eandem, non solum culpam, sed eandem etiam pœnam pertraheretur.

Hæ privatæ omnes injuriæ etiam publica contumelia supra modum augentur; namque non solum in contemptum Anglici nominis, insignia hujus regni sunt hostili more dejecta, et e navibus nostris abrepta, atque de ima puppe ipsorum navis suspensa, quasi omnia jam essent ad triumphum comparata; verum etiam, quod indignissimum omnium fuit, insignia vestræ majestatis propria insolentia non toleranda sunt dilacerata. In tota hac nostra nostrarumque rerum calamitate, hoc unum nos solatur, quod pro certo et sæpe jam comperto habemus, serenissimum regem Hispaniarum, pro ingenita sua bonitate, pro divina ejus in æquitatem inclinatione, et pro perpetuo etiam illius in omnes semper Anglos amore, non gravate concessurum, ut hæc tota nostra caussa juris potius committatur æquitati, quam cujusquam hominis permittatur libidini. Est enim ratio, qua facile duci possit ut ita faciat; nam in recenti adhuc memoria, regnante EDVARDO SIXTO et postea regina MARIA, fratre sororeque vestræ majestatis, clarissimæ memoriæ principibus, quum acre jam arderet bellum inter Hispanos et Gallos, quumque hoc regnum amicum esset utrique genti, semel atque iterum accidit, ut Galli Hispanos, et Hispani Gallos intra Angliæ fines, vi et spoliationibus alter alterum vexarent: et qua æquitate quaque commoderatione,

utrique tum in Anglia accepti tractatique fuerunt, neutri adhuc genti e memoria potest excidere. Propterea, nos supplices provoluti ad genua vestræ majestatis, clementissima princeps, humillime petimus, ut vestræ dignetur serenitas literas suas in nostram gratiam ad potentissimum Hispaniæ regem scribere: ab eoque rogare, ut pro tot utrobique inter Hispanos Anglosque sanctioris necessitudinis vinculis, vetustissimisque confœderationibus, concedere velit, ut nostra caussa favorabiliter et benigne, ab ejus majestate accepta, illius jussu ab hominum cupiditate ad judicum sententiam et juris æquitatem mature possit transferri.

IX.—TO THE KING OF SPAIN (4, 52).

In the name of Queen Elizabeth, asking redress for the wrong complained of in the last letter.

Serenissimo Regi Hispaniarum. — Pro Regia Majestate.—Certi nostri mercatores, qui annuas negotiationes exercent in Hispania, graviter apud nos conquesti sunt suos factores, superiori mense Novembri, in portu Gibelterræ durius acceptos fuisse, quam Angli in Hispania ante solent accipi, aut ipsa æquitatis ratio postulare videtur. Rogamus itaque vestram serenitatem ut nostrorum subditorum caussa benigne et cum favore a judicibus et jurisconsultis istic vestris cognoscatur, et pro ratione æquitatis explicetur. Exemplum supplicis illorum libelli nobis exhibiti his literis nostris adjungi jussimus, unde explicatior ratio totius hujus negotii plane apparebit. Et, si qui nostri, vel stomacho in hostium insolentiam, vel ignoratione vestrarum legum nonnihil deliquerint, speramus tamen innocentium numerum certorum culpam minime luiturum.

Quod ad caussam nostrorum attinet, nos confidimus sic prorsus actum iri cum illis, prout vetus mutuæ inter nostra regna necessitudinis mos, prout ipsius caussæ æquitas queat postulare. Quum res vestrorum subditorum, parem sub nostro imperio, vel æquitatis, vel humanitatis, vel commoderationis rationem requirent, quantum momenti in vestræ serenitatis vel literis vel rogatu apud nos erit, libenter et studiose ostendamus.

IX.—TO RICH. GOODRICH, (A, 4).

A letter of Consolation. [Nov. 17, 1559.]

To Mr RICHARD GOODRICH,* *being sick as was supposed with unkindness, because his service was not excepted to the commonwealth.*

'SIR, being this other day with you, I did, as I thought, both see in your face the state of your body, and also perceive in your talk the case of your mind. I was glad to see in your eye and colour a true return, in mine own opinion, of your health again: I was sorry to hear by your talk, that you made the faults of others your own harm. I am rather sorry with you so doing, than blame you for so thinking. I know well you do it neither for lack of wisdom, nor for want of honesty. For I never heard tell, that great thought did greatly trouble any man, except he were both wise and honest; and that fools and ill men be never heartily touched with any kind of care or thought. You willed me the other day, if God should take you, to write an epitaph upon you; that request of yours then doth embolden me to write now; and because I had rather, if I can,

* A lawyer, often employed in commissions under king Henry VI. He was buried May 25, 1562, with great state. (Machyn's *Diary*, Camd. Soc. p. 283.)

ease your mind with a letter, than please other men's ears with an epitaph; and because I had rather have you still live with us, than say well of you when you be gone, I will prove if the same medicine which healed me in the like sickness can likewise cure you the same way. / But I say not well that my sickness was like to yours: for though it were dangerous for the life, yet was not so painful for the body; and for the mind, folly in me did wisely stay, where too deep judgment in you doth unwisely let suffer to pass too far the course of this sickness. And this praise of folly in exceeding wisdom itself is as praiseworthy as any commendation, which ERASMUS in his *Moria* doth give unto it. My medicine is of such efficacy that whoso doth receive it must needs be straightway perfectly made whole. And because I am persuaded that you have already received the same medicine that I would give you, I will rather tell you then how it did comfort me, than to declare it for any need at all to counsel you. Whensoever we begin to be thoroughly sorry for our unkindness towards God; for then must needs end all sorrow for any man's unkindness towards us. For these two sorrows be so contrary that they cannot by any possibility remain in our body. The joy that cometh to the heart by sorrowing for our sins will not suffer any sorrow to remain in the heart for the injuries of men. And therefore if we say that we be in quiet and at one with God for our own former unkindness done unto him, and yet still feed our grief for the unkindness of men done unto us, I know we work with God and deceive ourselves because we be not yet come to say as DAVID: *Detesti* lætitiam in corde meo* [Ps. 4,

* *Dedisti.*

7], and in another place,* [*Auditui*] *meo das gaudium et exultante ossa humilitata* [50, 10]. God with his fatherly rod of sickness doth chastise us, and with his staff of grace doth stay us, and make us walk again. But if the rod of his correction and staff of his goodness do not drive away all sorrow from our hearts, we cannot say truly with David: *Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt* [22, 4]. If we be at one with God indeed, then our sorrow and our care doth remain only in our hearts, sorrow for sins past, and hatred for sins to come are two cares indeed which bring a marvellous joy to the heart, which is sweetly called in the scripture *Lætitia salutaris* [50, 14], *lumen vultus Domini* [88, 16], *et oleum Spiritus Sancti* [88, 21]. For if another sorrow but sorrow for sins do grieve us, then it may be said justly unto us: *Illic trepidaverunt ubi non fuit timor* [52, 6]. There is one sweet verse in David, mine own good Mr Goodrich, which is a plaster once laid to a man's heart, is able to heal all fears and sorrows in the world; which did, I thank my God, quite heal me: it is this: *Qui timent Dominum* [113, 11—13: 127, 1]. For what wordly misery he heareth or feeleth in himself, be it loss of goods, sickness of body; be it the injury of his enemy, or unkindness of his friends, which is the greatest that can come to a man; yet a heart firmly fixed on the fear of God shall contemn as trifles all such fond worldly cares and troubles. But lest I should seem rather to purpose a sermon than a letter unto you, I will leave off my divinity, which is very small, and study of me rather to comfort myself than to counsel others, and I will descend unto mine own philosophy, whereof a mean

* A blank space before *meo*. Auditui meo dabis gaudium et lætitiam et exultabunt ossa humiliata. Ps. 1. 10.

knowledge at all, and some few lessons in this case I have gathered out of Plato and Tully, which as they be medicine of the mind not comparable with those of Scripture, yet seeing they were able to heal heathen men in like troubles, it were shame it should not heal us Christians in like manner. A question was asked in PLATO's books of laws, why laws were provided for all other faults and no law at all to punish unkindness. Saith another, it is so great a fault as it doth pass man's order justly to punish it, and is left only to God's judgment to revenge it; and when it doth chance unto myself, I never seek to requite it, lest I should presume upon God's office and order, who by his divine power is most able justly to punish so huge a fault. It is Plato's praise to say this, being a heathen; and our shame not to do this, being Christians. PLATO and TULLY left both one lesson unto us, not only wittily exprest in their books, but also wisely followed in their own lives. For they both lived to see their country troubled with factious heads; which by their wisdom they studied to stay, whereby they purchased to their country neither good nor quietness, to themselves at first great envy and at the last great dangers; but when they saw their country would not be holpen by good advice, nor ought to be compelled by any violence (for to prince, parent, or country at any time violence is not to be offered): they wisely withdrew themselves from dealing with the commonwealth, and wholly gave themselves to a private life and quiet study, and after that wrote the one in Greek, the other in Lattam [Latin], such books and of such eloquence and wisdom, as, Scripture excepted, God never declared the like by wit of man. But to my purpose, and to that whereof I take most profit. This is notable, that Tully writeth

in that case: My country, saith he [*Fam.* ix. 18], for all her unkindness shall be bound unto me, and give me thanks: for I neither will consume myself with care as LENTULUS hath done; nor kill myself with thought as CATO hath done; but seeing with speaking and counsel I cannot help my country presently, I will prove it by study and writing, I can profit my country hereafter. All which he did so fully perform, as the glory of Rome is even to this day further spread by TULLY'S wit than ever it was in those days by CÆSAR'S wars. Therefore, my good Mr GOODRICH, seeing PLATO and TULLY have by other men's unkindness won so great praise to themselves, brought so great comfort to their country, and left so great profit to all others, as neither distance of place can contain nor length of time shall ever consume, let it never be said that philosophy hath persuaded more with them that were heathen men, than DAVID'S Psalter and God's holy word can do to us that be Christians; seeing their intent could be furthered only with an earthly praise, when all our deeds, words, and thoughts may be so holpen with a sure love and a lively faith of an heavenly life. Sir, I know you both think as I do, and have done as I write, and therefore this letter is written rather to witness my good will, than to give any counsel unto you, which I know you can take of youself better than I can give it. But you must think that I do it only as that poet thought, who wrote to his friend advising him thus:

> Qui monet ut facias, quod jam facis ipse monendo
> Laudat, et hortatu comprobat acta suo.
> [Ov. *Tr.* 14, 45].

And to write thus is too much to you, yet surely not enough for my goodwill, which to say or do anything

that may do you good is and shall be ever most ready, as God is my witness; whom I will beseech to keep you many years in health of soul and body. Westminster, 17 November, 1559.

Yours &c. Ro. Ascham.

XI.—TO A FOREIGN FRIEND (3, 32).

On behalf of F. K.—about Queen Elizabeth's zeal for religion, and the attempts made by the French to check the Reformation in Scotland.

Palace, London, Dec. 28, 1559.

Hanc scripsit pro F. K. cuidam amico extero.—Ornatissime vir et amice carissime, literæ tuæ, Francofordiæ Calendis Octobris datæ, pergratæ mihi multis nominibus fuerunt: ex his enim libenter intellexi, meas literas et opportune a te receptas et tibi valde quoque acceptas fuisse. Oblectavit me mirum in modum tam expressa declaratio tot tuorum officiorum, singularis studii in me, benevolentiæ in meos, humanitatis in omnes Anglos, congratulationis de fortuna et privata mea et publica, quum regni tum principis nostræ illustrissimæ; ut taceam de gaudio, quod immensum concipis, de pura Christi religione, non solum auspicato revirescente, sed felicissime jam florente, per omnes et Angliæ partes et Anglorum animos: cujus rei certa passim et explorata indicia magis ac magis indies ostendunt sese atque proferunt. Hanc tuam benevolentiæ, humanitatis, gratulationis, ac pietatis rationem omnem, nos vicissim, memore semper animo, mutuo in omni re studio, et omni quo possumus officio libenter subsequemur. Nam, licet te de hoc tanto amore tuo valde amem, istud tamen tibi non concedam, ut quia tu ac tui et inprimis ornatissimus filius tuus, in

isto humanitatis certamine, opportunitate, et tempore ipso fueritis priores; propterea voluntate, memoria, et gratificandi studio, sitis futuri quoque superiores. Quem animi nostri sensum non nunc scriptura sed jampridem re declaravissemus, si nostra facultas voluntati nostræ par esse potuisset. Interea, dum opportunitas tibi ac tuis gratificandi mihi dabitur, cujus quærendæ nullam non viam ipse persequar, grata colam memoria, frequenti usurpabo sermone, et illustrissimæ nostræ principi, capta ad eam rem justa occasione, omnes tuas gratas humanitates, eximia in nos et nostros officia, pia erga Deum et religionem instituta plene fuseque declarabo.

De statu religionis apud nos audiendi quum intelligam te percupidum esse, in nulla certe re curæ omnes serenissimæ nostræ principis magis excubant, quam ut per hoc Angliæ regnum, repurgatis primum in cultu religionis omnibus fœdis erroribus, emendatis deinde, in usu vitæ, temporum et morum vitiis, purum illud unicum Evangelii tandem semen in animos nostrorum hominum perspergatur, unde salutares Christianæ vitæ fructus certe et solide efflorescant. De vicinis nostris Scotis, quoniam tu tam libenter commemoras, non invitus ipse quoque aliquid de illis scribam: id quod, licet ad audiendum non ita tibi futurum est jucundum, ad te tamen, de præsente istic motu, certiorem faciendum admodum erit appositum. Galli consilia sua, multos jam annos, vires omnes hoc tempore huc conferunt, ut religionis in Scotia nunc nascentis occasus, legum omnium ac priscæ libertatis interitus, et universæ demum reipublicæ vastitas, agatur feraturque in eo regno. Speramus tamen Deum, qui exurgere consuevit ad gemitum pauperum, ut ipse diserte promittit, et dissipaturum istorum impia consilia, et fracturum

omnes eorundem crudeles cruentosque conatus. Et hæc spes eo certius nobis affulget, quo jam est exploratius omnium hominum judicio, universam pacem, per hanc præsentem Christiani nominis universitatem, ubique gentium, optatissime, felicissimeque fore jam constitutam, absque hac turbulenta natione Gallica esset. Par itaque est, ut communes omnium bonorum preces contra tam apertos Christiani nominis inimicos fundantur; et credibile sane est, Deum præsentem opem suam contra tam insolentem eminentemque hominum audaciam prompte opportuneque exerturum. Intelligo me nimis longe esse provectum; sed abundantia amoris mei erga te facit, ut non illibenter sim prolixus, vel saltem hoc nomine, ut tuas longissimas eliciam literas; qua re nihil mihi gratius esse potest. Precor tibi omnia et læta et felicia, ex animi tui sententia, et tuo itidem humanissimo filio, meoque optimo amico, quem ut officiosissime salutes meo nomine, volo. Vale, ex regia, Londini, 28 Decembris, 1559.

XII.—TO MR C. HOWE (w, 282).

To Mr C. H., his brother-in-law, when he put him to service with the Earl of Warwick. [1559.]

My dear brother,

In putting you to service a double wish hath brought me a double care, one for you, another for myself; for you, that you may fully answer my present desire of your hereafter well doing, for myself, that my promise to my lord of your good towardness may be performed by your diligent service; and because friendly counsel is better for a young man than costly garments to enter into service withal, and I, being as desirous to furnish you with the one as I am able to set you out with the other, do think it fitter for me and better for you at

this time to use my pen than open my purse unto you. My counsel if you do willingly read, advisedly mark, and constantly follow (as my hope is you will, and as your gain is you should) you shall not only take away from me my double care, but also bring to me, to yourself, and to others a quadruple way of praise, profit, pleasure, and comfort. Every man shall give you much praise, your self only shall receive the most profit; your loving sister, my wife, shall take therein great pleasure, your worthy mother enjoy a singular comfort, whose care and cost for your bringing up hitherto ought much to move you to all well doing hereafter. ¶ My advisement shall be short for better remembrance, and plain for easier understanding. First and foremost, in all your thinkings, speakings, and doings, have before your eyes the fear of God. If you ask me what is the fear of God, David shall so well answer and teach you as no man better, whose words be these: My son, come hither, and I will teach thee the fear of God. Hast thou a desire to live well, then mean no deceit in thy mind, speaking nothing of malice with thy tongue. Abhor and turn away from mischievous doings, avoid and eschew evil company, do nothing but that is good, use no fellowship but with those that be honest, seek peace and quietness with every one, and, to say as much as I can say or you can do, love all. The precepts, brother, be plain teaching, no dark school-points, yea, these few lines, diligently marked and well followed shall lead you as rightly to do all duty in your service, and to follow all honesty in your life, as though you had read over curiously all the books of Scripture.

But lest I should seem to propose unto you a sermon rather than a letter, and a long letter rather than

a short lesson, I will as I began rehearse again my first advice now twice unto you, that you should twice and thrice remember it. First and foremost, in all your thoughts, words, and deeds, have before your eyes the fear of God: here were good ending when I have said so, for surely neither I nor any other man can say more for good order to be used in man's life than DAVID hath taught you in this short lesson. I may utter more words but no more matter for this purpose, yea, I can add nothing to express it more plainly, but it must be taken out of the self-same lesson manifestly; yet because it is wrapt up in so narrow a room, I will somewhat lay it more broad before your eyes, that you may easily know it for your learning, and better follow it in your service. Then thus love and serve your lord willingly, faithfully, and secretly; love and live with your fellows honestly, quietly, courteously, that no man have cause either to hate you for your stubborn frowardness, or to malice you for your proud ungentleness,—two faults which commonly young men soonest fall into in great men's service. Contemn no poor man, mock no simple man, which proud fools in court like and love to do; find fault with yourself and with none other, the best way to live honestly and quietly in the court. Carry no tales, be no common teller of news, be not inquisitive of other men's talk, for those that are desirous to hear what they need not, commonly be ready to babble what they should not. Use not to lie, for that is unhonest: speak not every truth, for that is unneedful; yes, in time and place, a harmless lie is a great deal better than a hurtful truth. Use not diceing nor carding; the more you use them the less you will be esteemed; the cunninger you be at them, the worse

man you will be counted; for pastime, love and learn that which your lord liketh and useth most, whether it be riding, shooting, hunting, hawking, fishing, or any such exercise. Beware of secret corners, and night sitting-up,—the two nurses of mischief, unthriftiness, and sickness. Beware chiefly of idleness, the great pathway that leadeth directly to all evils; be diligent always, be present everywhere in your lord's service, be at hand to call others, and be not oft sent for yourself; for mark this as part of your creed, that the good service of one whole year shall never get so much as the absence of one hour may lose, when your lord shall stand in need of you to send. If you consider always that absence and negligence must needs be cause of grief and sorrow to yourself, of chiding and rueing to your lord, and that duty done diligently and presently shall gain you profit, and purchase you great praise and your lord's good countenance, you shall rid me of care, and win yourself credit, make me a glad man, and your aged mother a joyful woman, and breed yourself great comfort. So I commit and commend you to God's merciful protection and good guidance, who long preserve—your ever loving and affectionate brother-in-law, R. ASKAM.

To my loving brother-in-law, Mr C. H.,

Servant to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Warwick, these.

XIII.—TO . . . (L, 74).

For the Queen—offers to do all that can be done to procure compensation for the wrong done formerly by John Asche, who is dead, but will defend her subjects against reprisals.

Mar. 8, 1560.

Magnifici domini, amici carissimi. Vestras literas, XIV° calend. Novemb. datas in gratiam HENRICI

BILLINGHUSEN et aliorum civium vestrorum in causa navis, cum variis mercibus tempore reginæ MARIÆ sororis meæ carissimæ per JOANNEM ASCHE (ut fertur) ejusque socios subditos nostros submersæ, conscriptas accepimus. Hæc causa antea delata est ad nostros consiliarios, qui primo quoque tempore expediebant nuncium cum literis ad magistratus illius provinciæ ubi JOANNES ASCHE habitabat, ut ipsi curarent eum apprehendi. Verum iste JOANNES ASCHE, ut verissime constat, ante jam annum supremum diem suum obierat. Socii omnes illius, egentes nautæ, vagi homines, nec unde viverent nec ubi consisterent habentes, maximam partem mari perierunt. Si qui vero illorum residui sunt, vel ignoti propter obscuritatem vel latentes propter egestatem apprehendi non dum possunt, quanquam et cura et opera sedulo est exhibita ut ipsi caperentur. Si vero nuncius vester, sive alius quispiam procurator ipsius causæ hic in Anglia permaneat ad solicitandam et persequendam hanc rem, vel contra successores JOANNIS ASCHE, vel contra quenquam sociorum ejus, qui superstes est ac sisti potest, curabimus ut quodvis remedium, quod vel excogitare ratio vel postulare jus et æquitas queat, cum omni favore et sine ulla interposita mora in hac causa adhibeatur. Cui rei cognoscendæ atque expediendæ hujusmodi viros assignabimus, qui summarie, de plano, sine figura judicii, et sola facti veritate inspecta, in hac causa sunt processuri. Nec plus credimus a quoquam principe pro justitiæ et æquitatis nomine aut potest aut debet requiri. Imo plus concedimus in hac causa quam ulli subdito nostro concedere unquam consuevimus. Quod vestri cives, quorum res agitur, scribunt ad nos, sibi certum et persuasum esse, quod numquam velint vel contra principalem vel ejusdem flagitii socios legibus

experiri, sed a nobis suas injurias atque incommoda sine prorogatione rependi postulent, satis admirari quidem non possumus eos, relicta juris legitima et æquissima via, ad id, quod et re iniquum et exemplo inauditum sit, velle confugere. Quod vestri etiam asserunt, veterem esse receptam in Anglia consuetudinem ut quisque qui se belli tempore ad navigandum instruit, vades prius constituat, qui injuriam ab eo amicis et confederatis hujus regni illatam præstare teneantur, verum quidem illud est, ubi quis proficiscitur ad mare cum commeatu et licentia principis: ast prædones, qualis JOANNES ASCHE fuit, licentiam non expectant, et propterea sponsores nullos exhibere solent. Itaque si Joannes Asche nunc superstes esset, capitis supplicio plecteretur. Neque facile credimus ullum statum aulæ Teuthonicæ unquam fuisse compulsum ut aliorum injurias præstaret, aliter quam legum et juris ratio postularet.

Si vero vestri tentabunt, præter juris legitimam viam atque rationem, quærere sibi ipsi satisfactionem vel aliquo extraordinario modo, vel contra ullos alios nostros subditos, qui hujus facti nec rei nec participes fuerunt, quum nos tantum illis concedimus quantum ullus princeps concedere potest, hoc est juris æquitatem cum omni favore, et sine omni justa mora, non dubitamus quin eos consilii ac temerarii sui conatus aliquando pœniteat. Nam quemadmodum illis omnem favorem et expeditionem quam ratio et æquitas postulare queat, libenter concedimus, ita nec feremus nec patiemur ullos subditos nostros propter alienam culpam vexari ab iis quibus tam facilem aditum ad tam æquam justitiæ administrationem tam benevole offerimus. Et vos pro vestris prudentiis idem sentire atque statuere velle non dubitamus. Bene valete, etc., 8 Martii, 1560.

XIV.—TO CATHARINE OF SAXONY (I, 75).

On the same subject.

Illustrissimæ principi dominæ Catharinæ clarissimæ memoriæ principis Domini magni ducis Saxoniæ viduæ relictæ, ex amplissima ducum Brunswigensium et Luneburgensium familia, etc. Consanguineæ meæ carissimæ.—Illustrissima P. carissima nostra consanguinea. Accepimus literas vestras in gratiam certorum civium Tubecensium conscriptas: quorum navis quædam, tempore reginæ Mariæ, sororis nostræ carissimæ, a quibusdam Anglis, ut illi asserunt, una cum mercibus submersa fuit. Quemadmodum ex animo dolemus ullam injuriam a nostratibus illatam esse cuiquam homini, potissimum vero his, quibuscum nobis et nostro regno bona intercedit amicitia, ita studiose curabimus, cum Dei benignitate, quo melius et justitiam inter nostros et amicitiam apud exteros conservemus, ut sontes, qui superstites sunt, prout jus postulat, severa animadversione ad exemplum aliorum puniantur, utque ea satisfactio his qui detrimentum ceperunt præstetur, quam ulla vel æquitatis ratio vel legum vis possit exigere. Verum JOANNES ASCHE, qui præcipuus auctor hujus facinoris esse dicitur, jam diu hac vita defunctus est; ita ut ejus corpus amplius sisti non queat. At vero, si actores assignentur ab illis Lubecensibus, qui hanc causam solicitant vel contra successores Joannis Asche vel contra ullos alios hujus facti reos atque participes, vicissim assignabimus certos ex nostris ad cognoscendum et expediendum hanc causam, qui summarie de plano et sine figura judicii sunt processuri: et curabimus ut omnis favor atque expeditio in hac causa adhibeatur, quam ulla ratio aut æquitas queat postulare. Id quod libentius facimus quidem, ad respectum vestri rogatus atque intercessionis.

Qui attulit vestras literas, expectare causæ examinationem nolebat, quia hoc illi non datum erat in mandatis a Lubecensibus, ut ipse asserebat, nisi satisfactionem a nobis acciperet: quod facere nullo jure aut æquitatis ratione tenemur; quum contra causa nulla est, cur ille tantum favorem de quo ante diximus recusaret.

Præterea nec æquum nec par esset ut ad tam iniquum postulatum consentiremus, quomodo existimamus vestram excellentiam pro sua prudentia facile judicaturam.—Deus etc.

XV.—TO J. RAGAZZONI (L, 100).

Asks his help in getting Guido Janetti out of some difficulties.

Westminster, Mar. 18, 1560.

Eximio viro Jacobo Ragazzoni nobili Veneto amico nostro perdilecto.—Quoniam novimus te magna et serenissimam nostram principem observantia et suos etiam famulos benevolentia prosequi, rogamus ut operam tuam in expediendo Guidone Janetti ab illis angustiis, quibus illum jam intelligimus misere istic premi, velis adhibere. Serenissima nostra regina in illius gratiam ad illustrissimum vestrum principem scripsit. Illæ literæ tibi tradentur, ut eas opportune illustrissimo duci vestro offeras. Tuam igitur in promovendo hoc negotio observantiam, serenissima regina, operam et benevolentiam nos memore animo et grato etiam officio vel erga te vel rogatu tuo erga tuos quum occasio ferat libenter compensabimus.—Bene valeas. Westm., 18 Martii, 1560. Tui amici.

XVI.—TO GUSTAVUS, KING OF SWEDEN. (L, 78).

For the Queen.—A letter of compliments sent by the Duke of Finland, who bears also a verbal message.

Ap. 10, 1560.

Domino Gustavo Suecorum, etc., regi, Elizabetha, etc.—*Serenissimo principi Gustavo, etc.* Quam rationem nos ducendam esse judicamus illius vestræ erga nos tam illustris amicitiæ, in qua nullum non veræ benevolentiæ officium sæpe nos et multis modis expertæ sumus, præsenti potius sermoni illustrissimi principis Domini Joannis Finlandiæ ducis optatissimi vestræ serenitatis filii, quam literis nostris committendum esse statuimus.

Quem ad vestram serenitatem jam revertentem, nec sine nostro justo dolore, nec sine illius merita commendatione, a nobis digredi ullo modo pati potuimus. Cujus in omni muneris sui obeunda ratione tanta extitit quum veræ prudentiæ laus, tum summæ nobilitatis amplitudo, ut feliciorne sit, vel quia natus est ex tam potenti principe vel quia sic institutus est a tam prudenti patre, non possimus facile statuere.

Cujus rei laus, vestra; fructus filii, congratulatio nostra; admiratio plurimorum apud nos hominum existit, quibus tanta ejus virtus vereque regia dignitas cognita perspectaque est.

Itaque non dubitamus, quin hæc illius in Anglia commoratio atque consuetudo effectura sit ut omnia et inter nos grata officia et inter nostros opportuna commoda certatim deinceps intercedant. Propterea nos pro nostra parte laborabimus, ut nostra hæc alendæ inter nos amicitiæ voluntas, non sermone solum atque literis significata, sed re etiam et officiis contestata videatur.—Deus etc. Westmon., x Aprilis, 1560.

XVII.—TO ERIC, KING OF SWEDEN (L, 79).

For the Queen.—Refers to the Duke of Finland, who bears this letter, for an explanation of her wishes.

Serenissimo principi Domino Erico Suecorum, etc., electo et hæreditario regi, etc.—Elizabetha, etc.—Nostra consilia et animi mei sensum omnem illustrissimo principi fratri vestro duci Finlandiæ fuse declaravimus. Qui, non dubitamus, sermonis nostri omnis mentisque propositum sic explicabit, ut nihil quod vel ad plene intelligendum nostrum animum, vel ad juste satisfaciendum vestræ serenitati spectare queat sit prætermissurus. De ejus vero perpetua sedulitate in agenda urgendaque illa causa quæ ei fuit commissa vere possumus affirmare nihil ab eo esse omissum quod vel solicitudo in amantissimo fratre vel benevolentia in summo amico, vel facultas in magno oratore præstare potuisset. In cujus rei tractatione eam adhibuit et prudentiam cum humanitate et studium cum moderatione, et id etiam semper cum dignitate digna homine principe, ut dubium esse possit an naturæ propinquitas, amicitiæ conjunctio, ususne prudentiæ, cariorem illum vestræ serenitati debeat efficere. De nobis etiam sic vestram serenitatem sentire volumus quod quicquid germanus frater a gratissima sorore, vel ullus princeps ab altero principe, in quavis mutuæ benevolentiæ ratione expectare queat, id nos libenter, sedulo atque studiose sumus præstituræ.—Deus etc.

XVIII.—TO FREDERICK, KING OF DENMARK (L, 80).

For the Queen.—Asks protection and favour for John Spithonius, who bears this letter.

Domino Frederico Daniæ regi.—Elizabetha, etc.,

serenissimo principi Domino Frederico, etc.—Quum compertum haberemus dilectum nostrum famulum JOANNEM SPITHONIUM studio teneri hoc tempore redeundi in illas regiones, visum nobis est ut nostro jussu nostroque nomine primum vestram inviseret serenitatem; deinde ut nostris verbis certa quædam negotia, quæ partim privata ratione ad vestram serenitatem, partim ad causam communem utriusque nostrum referenda sunt. Itaque si facilitatem in adeundo, benignitatem in audiendo et fidem in communicando nomine nostro nostra consilia vestra illi concedat serenitas, curabimus ut parem nostrum favorem, gratiam et fidem vestris quoque, quum consimilis rerum usus atque ratio postulet, libenter simus præstituræ.—Deus etc.

XIX.—TO DOROTHY QUEEN OF DENMARK

(L, 80.)

On the same subject.

Serenissimæ principi dominæ Dorotheæ Daniæ, Norwegiæ, etc., reginæ, sorori et consanguineæ nostræ carissimæ—Elizabetha, etc., serenissimæ principi Dominæ Dorotheæ, etc. Quum fidelis et dilectus noster famulus JOANNES SPITHONIUS desiderio redeundi in illas regiones hoc tempore teneretur, mandatum illi dedimus, ut nostro nomine vestram salutaret serenitatem nostrisque verbis ei gratias amplas ageret pro literis illis vestris superiori anno ad nos datis, in quibus nullum officium benevolentiæ, amoris, humanitatis, atque pietatis, prætermissum fuit. Commisimus illi ejusque præsenti sermoni certa negotia, quæ nostro nomine vestra cum serenitate communicaturus est. Petimus igitur ut fides illi tribuatur, id quod nos vestris similiter pollicemur, quum par rerum ratio requirat. Deus etc.

XX.—TO THE SENATE OF HAMBURG, (I, 81).

For the Queen.—Speaks of a private quarrel between some English and Burgundian merchants, and approves of an agreement to trade between England and Hamburg.

[April.]

Consulibus et Senatoribus civitatis Hamburgi, etc. —Magnifici domini, illustres, spectabiles, amici carissimi. Literæ vestræ, decimo septimo superioris mensis Martii datæ, nobis quidem valde gratæ fuerunt. Fuerunt enim plenæ et officiosæ observantiæ erga nos, et studiosæ benevolentiæ erga nostros. Quo utroque nomine nos vobis, ut par est, gratias libenter agimus. Quod vero in illis mentio facta sit offensionis nonnullæ, quæ inter nostros et Burgundiones hoc tempore intercedit, est quidem illud totum negotium negotiationis privatæ, non controversiæ publicæ, quod seorsum ad mercatores, non promiscue ad omnes utrinque subditos spectat. Quæ etiam causa omnis per nos quidem, si justa mutuæ æquabilitatis ratio habeatur, facile poterit componi.

Quod porro vos tam amice nostros invitatis ut pannos suos et alias merces ad vestram civitatem transportent, et istic commercii sui exercendi sedem collocent, et quod præterea postulatis, ut nostrum quoque assensum atque auctoritatem etiam ad id perficiendum dignemur ipsæ adjungere, voluntatem certe hanc vestram admodum probamus et petitionem vestram libenter accipimus.

Sed, quum commercii exercendi ratio vetusto more, antiquo jure, gratia et beneplacito superiorum omnium Angliæ regum, mercatoribus Anglis ita libera semper fuerit, ut ubivis gentium pro eorum ipsomet arbitratu suas negotiationes obire potuerint, nos quidem totam hanc rem, quorum fortunis maxime inte-

rest illorum voluntati, atque judicio constituendam relinquimus: ita ut quicquid ipsi aut cum aliis aut vobiscum in suis negotiationibus statuant, id nos nostro favore, gratia, consensu et auctoritate libenter prosequemur. Interim omnes vestras gratas propensiones et officiosa studia sic amplectimur, ut de opportuna aliqua ratione respondendi vestræ benevolentiæ imprimis nobis cogitandum esse existimemus. Bene valete, etc.

XXI.—TO THE KING OF SWEDEN (4, 60).

Asks protection for her agent, Thomas Alan, who is going to buy hemp, pitch, &c., in the northern ports.

March 20, [1561].

Negotium dedimus dilecto nostro famulo atque mercatori THOMÆ ALANO, ut ad usum classis nostræ certas res necessarias, malos, funes, asseres, picem, et alia ejus generis, nostra pecunia, Gedani hoc tempore comparet. Rogamus itaque vestram serenitatem, si naves THOMÆ ALANI bonis nostris onustæ, in vestræ serenitatis vel classem inciderint vel portum appulerint, ut vestra bona gratia, atque mandato, a vestris subditis benigne cum humanitate acceptæ et libere sine impedimento demissæ, tuto per vestra freta atque jurisdictiones ire redireque possint: et nos vicissim curabimus, ut vestri itidem, vestræ serenitatis negotia procurantes, quum opus nostra gratia aut præsidio habuerint, persimili humanitate a nostris, sub nostro imperio, nostra quæque et voluntate et jussu accipiantur. Deus etc. 20 Martii.

XXII.—TO FREDERICK, KING OF DENMARK (L, 72.)

For the queen.—Asks of him the same favour towards her officer, Thomas Alan, in granting a free passage through the Sound, which had been shown towards his predecessor, W. Watson.

Westminster, March 30, 1561.

Frederico regi Danaorum, etc.— Elizabetha, etc. Negotium dedimus THOMÆ ALANO fideli nostro famulo atque mercatori, ut res quasque ad classem nostram instruendam necessarias in regionibus orientalibus compararet. Et quia GULIELMUS WATSONUS nuper hac vita defunctus, qui multis annis eidem præficiebatur officio, tempore non solum clarissimæ memoriæ regum parentum utriusque nostrorum sed nostro etiam, res omnes ab eo nostro mandato ad rem navalem nostram instruendam paratas per singulos portus atque maria vestræ serenitati subjecta, et nominatim per illud fretum vestrum quod *Soundes* appellatur, libere sine inquisitione, sine vectigali in Angliam transportavit, itaque rogamus vestram serenitatem ut THOMÆ ALANO et ejus procuratoribus, in eodem munere nostro jussu illis imposito obeundo, eandem liberatem nostro rogatu benigne velit concedere.

Præterea quum multi nostri mercatores multas exercent negotiationes in illis partibus orientalibus et hinc inde utrobique varias merces per vestræ serenitatis portus atque freta transvehere soliti sunt, rogamus itidem vestram serenitatem ut vestra auctoritate atque mandato certa aliqua pendendi vectigalis ratio vestris præscribatur officiariis, quam portorii et transvecturæ nomine a nostris mercatoribus Anglis certo ordine possint exigere, ut ea ratione semel statuta constanterque observata nostri quoque melius intelligant

quid ipsi quoque loco et tempore pro quaque re deinceps debeant persolvere.

Utramque vestræ serenitatis humanitatem, et illam more solito in propriis nostris rebus retentam atque conservatam, et hanc novo sed pernecessario ordine in tractandis nostris mercatoribus nostro rogatu exhibendam omni mutuæ fraternæque amicitiæ officio vel in gratificando vestræ serenitati vel in commodando vestris vicissim subditis, quum par postulet occasio, libenter compensabimus.—Deus etc. Westm., 30 Martii, 1561.

XXIII.—TO THE SOPHI OF PERSIA (4, 74).

For Queen Elizabeth.—Asks safe conduct and good treatment for an English traveller, A. Jenkinson. This letter occurs also in MS. L, p. 99. London, April 25, 1561.

Pro Regia Mœjestate—Elizabetha Dei gratia, etc., potentissimo et invictissimo principi magno Sophi Persarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis et ultra Tigrim fluvium, et omnium intra mare Caspium et Persicum sinum, nationum atque gentium imperatori, salutem, et rerum prosperarum felicissimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum est, ut quas gentes non solum immensa terrarum spatia, et insuperabiles marium vastitates, sed ipsi etiam cœlorum cardines longissime disjunxerunt, ipsæ tamen literarum bono et mentis certa cogitata, et humanitatis grata officia, et intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda, facile inter se et opportune possint communicare. Itaque, quum prædilectus et fidelis noster famulus ANTONIUS JENKINSON, qui has literas nostras perfert, cum bona venia, favore, et gratia nostra, hoc Angliæ nostræ regno excedere, et in Persiam usque vestrasque alias ditiones, Dei benignitate,

penetrare constituerit, hoc illius institutum, perlaudabile quidem, grato nostro favore persequi et promovere studuimus : id quod eo nos libentius facimus, quoniam hoc ejus propositum ex honesto studio commercii constituendi, potissimum cum vestris subditis, aliisque peregrinis hominibus ad vestra regna confluentibus, omnino exortum sit. Propterea nobis et scribendum ad vestram majestatem, abque ea petendum esse duximus, ut nostro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo nostro ANTONIO JENKINSON literas publicæ fidei, et salvi conductus, quarum auctoritate, atque præsidio, licitum liberumque sit illi, una cum suis familiaribus, servis, sarcinis, mercibus, et bonis universis, per vestra regna, dominia, ditiones, atque provincias, libere et sine impedimento proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, et isthic morari, quamdiu placuerit, et inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel suis libitum fuerit. Si hæc sancta hospitalitatis jura, et dulcia communis humanitatis officia inter nos, regna nostra, nostrosque subditos libenter constitui, sincere coli, et constanter conservari queant, speramus nos Deum optimum maximum effecturum, ut ab his parvis initiis grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, nostris ad summa commoda atque usus, aliquando sint oritura ; sic quidem, ut non mare, non terra, non cœlum ad nos longissime separandos, quam divina ratio, communis humanitas, et mutua benevolentia ad nos firmissime conjungendos, plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem et felicem in terris, et perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat majestati. Datæ in Anglia in celebri nostra urbe Londino XXV die mensis Aprilis, anno mundi 5523, Domini ac Dei nostri Jesu Christi 1561, regnorum vero nostrorum tertio.

XXIV.—TO KING PHILIP (L, 84).

For the queen—asks for a renewal of the former friendly commercial intercourse between the two nations. July 7, 1561.

Domino Philippo Hispaniarum regi—Elizabetha, etc. Invitæ quidem facimus ut quicquam ullo tempore ad vestram serenitatem scribamus, quod non plausibile semper vobis videri quidem debeat. Verum ut nunc res est, quum perspicimus pergrave damnum imminere regnis utriusque nostrum, potissimum vero mercatoribus illis, qui hinc inde commercium exercent, per novam quandam ordinationem istic jam recens institutam, consultum nobis fuit hanc ipsam rem vestræ serenitati impertiri per præsentem sermonem nostri istic assidui oratoris. Cui ut facilem aditum et amplam fidem vestra tribuat serenitas admodum postulamus. Deinque rogamus vestram serenitatem, ut priscus ille intercursus, tot annos utrobique inter nostros utrinque subditos tam amice et libere exercitus, et a nostris longo ab usque tempore majoribus hucusque mutuo et amabili consensu conservatus, ac non ita pridem a nobilissimis utriusque nostrum parentibus firmissime constabilitus, minime nostris temporibus immutetur; sed salvus integer et ratus, quum nostris impræsentiarum tum posteris deinceps permaneat. Ad quam rem perficiendam omnimoda mutuæ benevolentiæ officia, ex nostra quidem parte et nunc libenter et constanter etiam in posterum conferemus. Deus, etc. Grenovici, 7 Julii, 1561, regni nostri 3°.

XXV.—TO FREDERIC, EMPEROR ELECT. (L, 90.)

For the queen—speaks of the aggressions of the Muscovites on the Holy Roman Empire: all English subjects have been forbidden to export warlike stores to Muscovy. July 7, 1561.

Domino Friderico elect. Rom. imp., etc.—Elizabe-

tha, etc. Literæ vestræ majestatis ultima die mensis Maii datæ notis traditæ sunt. Et quæ in illis literis scripta sunt de vastitate et interitu Livoniæ, de calamitate magistri et ordinis ipsius militiæ Theutonicæ de gravi et non tolerabili periculo, quod in dies magis ac magis imminet aliis vicinis statibus S[ancti] R[omani] imperii ex crescenti quotidie potentia Ducis Muscoviæ, tam acerbum nobis commoverunt dolorem quam quisque princeps, communis humanitatis publicæ salutis Christiani nominis et almæ pacis tuendæ conservandæque studiosissimus, ex tanta bonorum miseria et ex tanti hostis immanitate ulla ratione aut sensu possit capere. Propterea solicitus ille et vere paternus affectus vestræ majestatis quo tantopere excitatur ad mature reprimendum crudeles impetus tam atrocis inimici, et prudentes præterea consilii vestri rationes et piæ ac perquam graves cohortationes ne quis Christianus quoquo modo hos impios conatus juvet aut promoveat; pro eo sane ac debent, nobis maxime sunt probatæ. Itaque quod vel ad nostrum animum vel ad nostrorum subditorum factum, in hac tota re attinet, sancte et asseveranter affirmamus nunquam ex nostro regno ulla arma, tormenta, seu quidvis aliud quod ad rem bellicam spectat, ad Muscovitas fuisse transportata. Verum quidem hoc est, unam aut alteram navem mercatoriam cum paucis pannis nostratibus crassioribus pro commutatione certarum pellium quibus illi abundant, nostri vero egent, in illas regiones solere aliquando proficisci. Est tamen ea omnis negotiatio nostrorum tam exigui momenti, ut inde nec hostes opem nec amici metum ullum haurire queant. Immo talis est ut a nobis potius pro vilitate non nominari quam ab aliis pro ullo terrore haberi debeat. Sed ut vestra majestas probe intelligat quanto nobis sit quum dolori

hæc Christiani nominis calamitas, tum etiam stomacho tam potentis hostis tanta immanitas, publico edicto promulgavimus vetantes ne quisquam nostrorum subditorum vel arma vel munitionem vel commeatum vel militem vel aliquid præsidii militaris in Muscoviam, ad tam communem hostem Sancti Romani imperii, aut deportet aut quocunque colore, prætextu, sive occasione, deportari curet. Graviter enim et permoleste feremus si ulla benevolentiæ piæ studia vel amicitiæ grata officia a nobis præterirentur, quæ ullo modo Christiano nomini salutaria, vestræ majestati expectata et nostro honori consentanea esse possunt. Deus, etc. Grenovici, 7 Julii, 1561.

XXVI.—TO THE DUKE OF TUSCANY (L, 86).

For the queen—asks protection for Edward Beauchamp, earl of Hertford, who is going into Italy. July 14, 1561.

Duci Florentiæ.—Illustrissime et excellentissime princeps, consanguinee et amice charissime. Quum perdilectus noster consanguineus, EDVARDUS dominus de Bello Campo et comes Hertfordiæ, magno eoque laudabili desiderio teneatur exteras peragrandi regiones, ut mores hominum multorum cernat, et urbes, præsertim vero nobilem Italiam et in Italia potissimum celebrem aulam vestræ excellentiæ, et illustrem statum vestræ reipublicæ, nos non potuimus facere, quin hoc illius laudabile institutum et nostro probemus judicio et nostris etiam commendemus literis. Petimus itaque ut ille cum suis ea humanitate atque benevolentia in vestra regione accipiatur, qua existimatis nos infimum quemque vestrum in nostrum regnum simili de causa accedentem tractari curaturas. Dominus, etc. 14 Julii, Londini, 1561.

XXVII. TO SIR W. CECIL (A, 5 : E, 11).

Tells him of the distress in which his mother-in-law has been left by the death of her husband, which took place in Lent 1559, and how he has mortgaged the lease of his farm at Walthamstow, which he asks Cecil to help him in redeeming. Oct. 6, 1561.

Sir,—May it please you of your gentleness to read, and of your goodness to consider this my short letter, which present necessity compelleth me to write presently unto you. My father in law died in Lent two years ago, leaving my mother in law his executor, leaving her small goods to order, and great debts to answer, the one surmounting the other a great deal, as the inventory yet doth record. He left her in that dead time of the year an house without money, barns without corn, fields unsown, rents to pay, wages to answer, children to find, household to keep, sore wages, and small relief, rich in present care, and hope only of next year's store, and that as yet not growing on the fields. The less she was known to have, the more earnest were her creditors to be answered their own. I being then at the court, was sent for, what time, if you remember, you gave me of your courtesy divers pieces of gold to carry, when by just authority, you might have well commanded me not to depart from doing my duty. When I came to her, I found her so careful, her case so lamentable, her necessity so present, her help so far off, that I was moved, I doubt, by God to do that for her, which no need could have driven me to have done for myself. I said unto her, "Good mother, be of good comfort, your case and care shall be mine, and all my goods shall be yours, to do you good, and comfort you withal;" and forthwith I provided seed to sow her ground, corn and malt to find her

house, present money to answer all present charges, as rents, wages, debts, and necessary furniture of housekeeping for many months and months to come, and to do her all the comfort I could, became also surety by my own hand, for all her former debts, that any creditors could ask, without requiring of her script or scroll, hand-surety or bond, to answer me or mine again. Peradventure your wisdom will marvel how I was able and why I was so bold to venture so great a matter, having so small a living as I had, for as then I had not my prebend, which God and your goodness only afterward provided for me. Verily Queen Mary by good Mr Petrosse [*Petre's*] means had given me this lease of a farm lying at Walthamstow, the which I was purposed never to put away for any need, for being sickly and not like to live long, I was fully minded to leave this lease to my wife when God should call me, to help me to marry her again, neither having then, nor having as yet any other thing, that I can any wise leave unto her. But finding my mother in law in such a case, and thinking that I might get again such a lease, but never again such a mother, whose virtue, womanhood and wisdom was such, as I loved her as much by judgment as ever I did mine own mother by nature, I laid my said lease to gage to Antony Hussey, for a hundred pounds to be paid at the font in Poules [*Paul's*] on Christmas Even, 1561, or else to forfeit it for ever. This lease is now in Mr Loge [*Lodge*] and Grimstone's hands, executors unto Mr Huze [*Hussey*]. This is my present case and care, in the which no cause for myself, but duty done to my good mother in law, hath so wrapped me, as I know not how to help it, except God, who moved me to do it, move your goodness also somewhat to be moved

with it. And good hope I have, you will be so: for when I consider how nine years ago, without my suit, being out of the country, and not once thinking on such a benefit, you only of your goodness obtained me that office, in which now I serve, and when also within these two years, I being sick in my bed, not suiting nor knowing any such matter, you got me likewise my prebend, I think it is God's will I shall enjoy no living, which you shall not either only first obtain for me, or at last only preserve for me. For now Mr Petre's benefit for the lease of my farm is quite gone, except you now be as good to help me to keep it, as he was then to help me to get it, which if you do then must I needs say and truly say, as Œdipus saith in Sophocles unto worthy Theseus:

Ἔχω γὰρ ἄχω διά σε κοὐκ ἄλλον βροτῶν. [*Œd. Col.* 1129.]

And then shall I pray and wish as he doth; which verse is so sweet in Greek, that yet for all my sorrow, I could not but make it as well as I could in an English Iambus:

I have that I have only by you and by no mo.

The remedy I seek for my care, I am loth to utter, as the sick man is to drink a bitter medicine: but what will not necessity force, which compelleth me to do, what I never yet approved in other, nor do not like presently in myself. My judgment hath ever led me to mislike private gain, gotten by common misorder, I mean private licenses granted against public statutes. And therefore I chose rather by letter than by talk to make this shamfast suit unto you, the liking or misliking whereof, only your countenance may be a sufficient answer to me, in this your so many and weighty affairs. May it please your goodness, sir, to obtain for me of the queen's majesty a licence for some

quantity of bear, or some number of unwrought clothes, or some lease of farm, some forfeit, or some other thing, which may by your judgment seem less to trouble any stablished good order. I have known many of small service and less necessity bold to ask, and happy to obtain as great a matter as this, yet I will think my suit no more reasonable, than your wisdom shall judge it, nor farther to be profitable for me, than your goodness shall will me, but will only pray to him who hath only put me in hope to labour unto you, to put you likewise in mind to do this for me, which shall be such a comfort and stay for me, my wife and my children, as we shall all think ourselves most bounden to pray for you and yours for ever. 6 Octobris, 1561. Your honour's at commandment bounden, R. A.

XXVIII. TO FREDERICK KING OF DENMARK. (I, 89).

Complains of a piratical attack made on some English fishermen, Causton, Smith and others, by some Scotchmen in the port of Wespend. St James's, Oct. 8, 1561.

Elizabetha, &c., illustrissimo Principi Domino Friderico, &c.—Tres jam anni sunt, quum mense Maio quidam Angli mercatores, GULIELMUS CAUSTON et GULIELMUS SMITH et alii in eadem societate piscatum proficiscuntur ad insulam vestræ serenitatis Wespende: ubi soluto, ut par et æquum fuit, vestris istic officiariis justo portorio in portum Westpende se recipiunt. Quo in loco tuti semper ipsi cum navibus reliquisque suis fortunis sub protectione vestræ serenitatis omni piscatus tempore acquiescere consuevere. Verum interim certi Scoti THOMAS NICOLSONUS et JOANNES HOGGE cum armata manu in mercatorum nostrorum naves in vestro portu jam stantes invadunt, eas spoliant, spoliatas una cum

hominibus ac fortunis eorum omnibus e vestro portu abducunt. Quæ injuria, quum non magis intentari videatur ad miseram expilationem nostrorum mercatorum quam ad apertam violationem vestræ jurisdictionis, admodum rogamus vestram serenitatem ut dignetur in tuendo quod justum et par est suum jus, una quoque suscipere, quod æquum etiam et pium est, causam horum calamitosorum hominum; ita ut aliquo legitimo modo et auctoritate vestræ serenitatis amissas fortunas recuperare possint. Intelligimus quam benigne vestra serenitas in gratiam hoc nostrorum mercatorum ad Scotorum reginam scripsit. Illius literas nostri jam ad serenitatem vestram apportant. Et propterea nos nostras quoque literas eisdem hominibus ad vestram serenitatem libenter dedimus, partim ut gratias pro gratia et favore vestro tam benigne nostris hominibus in hac causa jam declarato vestræ serenitati habeamus; partim ut pro mutua inter nos ac fraterna benevolentia proque vestro pio studio erga hos miseros et injuste afflictos homines dignetur vestra serenitas, quo sua sponte libenter in horum causa tuenda incepit, idem nostro jam porro rogatu ad facilem exitum producere. Quod vestrum pergratum officium nos vicissim et mutua ergo vos benevolentia, et pari erga vestros humanitate prompte cumulateque compensabimus. Deus, &c. Apud D. Jacob. viii Octobr. 1561.

XXIX. OSORIO TO ASCHAM (5, 37).

Says that he has heard from Sir Thomas Wilson, the queen's ambassador, of Ascham's having been prevented by a fever from writing to him. Lisbon, Oct. 27, [1561]

Hieronymus Osorius Episcopus Sylvensis Rogero Aschamo Anglo, S. P. — THOMAS WILSONUS, vir

ornatissimus, reginæ vestræ legatus salutem nomine tuo nuntiavit, quod mihi fuit gratissimum; idemque dixit, te eo tempore quo isthinc digressus est febri impeditum fuisse, quo minus ad me scriberes, quod mihi gravem molestiam attulit. Neque tam ob eam rationem, quod literarum tuarum fructu carui, quam propter morbum ipsum, qui te tenuit ne ad me scriberes. Quare si me amas, fac quum primum poteris ut me hac cura et sollicitudine liberes, et certiorem facias te pristinam valetudinem recepisse. De meis rebus nihil aliud est, quod scribam, nisi me bene quidem valere, sed negotiis molestissimis implicari. Nam veni coactus in hanc urbem, eo animo ut quum primum negotia, ut arbitrabar, facilia expedirem, continuo me in diœcesim meam reciperem. At postquam huc me contuli, sic oppressus negotiis fui, ut cupiam avolare, ne, dum aliena curo, mea deseram, et ob id inexpiabili flagitio me ipsum contaminem. Itaque cogito præcisis ancoris vela facere, et eo unde profectus sum cursum rursus instituere. Non deerit tamen, qui mihi in Algarbiensem provinciam literas tuas, si ad me scripseris, statim mittat. WILSONUS tibi librum dabit, quo GUALTERI HADDONI laudes persequor, ut possum. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si librum diligenter evolveris. Olyssiponæ VI Calend. Novembris.

XXX. To SEBASTIAN KING OF PORTUGAL, (L, 95).

For the queen. She has given orders that none of her subjects shall trade or interfere unlawfully in the Portuguese settlements in India. St. James's, Nov. 22, 1561.

Elizabetha &c. D. Sebastiano, &c. Accepimus literas vestræ serenitatis 22o Octobris Olyssiponæ datas.

Audivimus etiam libenter et perattente reverendissimum patrem Dominum episcopum Aquilensem regis Catholici fratris nostri carissimi apud nos assiduum oratorem qui vestro nomine explicatiorem mentis vestræ sententiam bene longo sermone nobis declaravit. Et, licet non dubitemus quin ipse reverendus pater plene ubereque certiorem facturus sit vestram serenitatem de omni nostro quod dedimus ad vestram postulationem responso, voluimus tamen nos ipsæ hoc etiam præterea significare vestræ serenitati, illa omnia accurate et studiose a nobis esse præstita, quæ nos hac proxima superiori æstate per D. EMANUELEM ARAICIUM vestræ serenitati explicari curavimus. Mandatum insuper dedimus nostris subditis atque mercatoribus, ne quisquam eorum negotietur in ullo portu ullisve regionibus Æthiopiæ, quæ sunt vestro aut imperio obedientes aut ærario vectigales, neque ut vestrorum subditorum commercia ullo modo interturbent neve ullam ullis vestris dominiis vel injuriam vel molestiam importent. Quod nostrum mandatum si qui subditi nostri aut jam transgressi, aut deinceps præterituri sunt, curabimus primo quoque tempore quo de eo facto certo judicio solidoque argumento nobis poterit constare, ut ea puniantur severitate qua merito esse queant et justo testimonio nostri promissi studiose a nobis præstiti, et eminenti exemplo aliis ne quid hujusmodi in posterum admittere audeant. Itaque quum nos hoc modo ad respectum vestri studii tam propositi atque intenti, non solum ad firmissime conservandam verum etiam ad cumulate adaugendam omnem mutuam inter nos ac nostros amicitiam, vestro jam rogatu arctius restrinximus ac cohibuimus libertatem nostrorum subditorum, quam quisquam progenitorum nostrorum hactenus fecit, et arctius etiam quam subditi vicinorum

principum sunt restricti: plane confidimus vestram serenitatem tam fraterne ac amice accepturam hoc nostrum responsum quam est a nobis sincere institutum atque propositum, et assensionem suam porro hand gravate præbituram ut alias nostri subditi ea libertate negotiandi quiete ac tuto utifrui (?) possunt qua communi gentium more nec repugnante vestra serenitate cæterarum nationum mercatoribus utifrui (?) libere est concessum. Deus &c. Ad D. Jacobum, 22ᵉ Novemb. 1561.

XXXI.—OSORIO TO ASCHAM (5, 15).

Is sorry to hear of Ascham's illness—has read with pleasure his letter to Cardinal Pole formerly—means to write to the queen, and speaks of some of his books.

Lisbon, Dec. 13, 1561.

Hieronymus Osorius Rogero Aschamo S. P. Non possum satis explicare, quam varie me affecerint literæ tuæ: quod enim erant scriptæ ab homine egregiæ virtutis et eruditionis laudibus ornatissimo, et magna illius in me amoris indicia continebant, fuere mihi longe gratissimæ; in quo vero significabant, te molestissimo morbo conflictari, maximum mihi dolorem attulerunt. Si igitur me amas, da operam ut me hac ægritudine leves. Tamdiu enim ero de valetudine tua sollicitus, quamdiu non fuero factus certior per literas tuas, te pristinam sanitatem recuperasse. Interim vero CHRISTUM JESUM, qui est verus medicus, precabor, ut tibi integram salutem cum verorum bonorum amplificatione restituat.

Exemplum literarum quas olim ad Cardinalem POLUM misisti, admodum libenter et cum magna admiratione legi: libenter quidem, quia ex illis quanti me faceres penitus intellexi, cum admiratione vero, partim

quia nihil in eo genere uberius, nihil aptius, nihil magis omnibus luminibus illustratum fieri poterat: partim autem quod tam illustre scribendi genus ad me ornandum contuleris. Quo enim minus eas laudes agnosco, eo magis admiratus sum quid tibi venerit in mentem, illud nescio quid, quod adolescens elucubratus fueram, tam magnifice laudare. Quamvis autem mei in te amoris magnitudo facit, ut nulla in re tecum pugnare velim, tantaque sit in te prudentia ut illis qui a te in judicio literarum dissentiunt, temeritatis infamia metuenda sit: erat tamen pudoris mei, quum opinio, quam de me habeo, valde ab opinione tua discrepet, sententiæ tuæ repugnare, et testimonium, quod mihi eruditionis et eloquentiæ das, oratione mea refellere. Sed contineo me, ne quidquam de amore in me tuo diminuam, quum enim vix quidquam sit, quod magis optem quam ut me valde diligas, et intelligam eam quam de me habes opinionem te mihi conjunxisse, facillime patior te in isto errore versari. Tantum igitur abest, ut aliquid contradicam, ut etiam mihi summopere laborandum existimem, quo ea tua magis magisque confirmetur opinio; ut tandem pro ratione illius, amor etiam quo me amplecteris augeatur. In quo autem principis vestræ ingenium et eruditionem extulisti, animum mihi addidisti, ut eam, quod jam antea facere cogitabam, libentius per literas salutarem, et quam essem studio illius incensus, multis verbis ostenderem. Nec enim dubito quum illa ex natura et studio summam humanitatis et clementiæ laudem assequuta sit, quin literas meas benigne et clementer excipiat. De orationibus autem adversariis ÆSCHINIS atque DEMOSTHENIS, quas per me in Latinum sermonem conversas videre desideras; partim quia non tantum mihi sumo, ut id præstare posse confidam, partim quia multis

oneribus oppressus sum, non audeo quidquam polliceri. Nostri *de Justitia* libri in nostri ANTONII AUGUSTINI manus pervenerunt; spero itaque, ut illius opera brevi in lucem prodeant. Sunt alia quædam a me diligenter elaborata, quæ cupio similiter edere. EMANUEL DARANGO consanguineus meus officio suo egregie functus est. Nec enim solum mihi literas tuas diligentissime reddidit, sed etiam quantum me amares, ostendit: et morbum, in quo versabaris, cum magno sensu doloris exposuit. Hæc sunt, quæ ex me scire te velle demonstras. De meo in te amore atque singulari studio quid dicam? Crede mihi, me nemini concessurum, qui te amet ardentius, vel observet quum poterit diligentius. Omnia igitur quæ tibi ab homine tui amantissimo et studiosissimo expectanda atque postulanda videbuntur, a me velim expectes; nihil enim erit tantum quod ego non tua caussa libenter et studiose suscipiam. Vale. Olyssiponæ, Idibus Decembris, Anno Domini 1561.

XXXII.—SPITHONIUS TO ASCHAM (5, 23).

Says that the king his sovereign will do justice in the case of the English merchants between Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland, but that there are some facts which bear against the English, and which must be more fully enquired into. Dec. 25, 1561.

Doctrina ac virtutibus clarissimo viro, Rogero Aschamo, serenissimæ ac potentissimæ Angliæ reginæ secretario, domino et patrono suo observantia summa colendo Joannes Spithonius Monasteriensis S. P.— Dici a me vix potest, ASCHAME doctissime, quanta me voluptate affecerint tuæ ad me datæ literæ, nimirum e quibus maximum non modo officii, verum etiam voluntatis erga me tuæ fructum perceperim. Itaque quum

gratias tibi ago maximas, uti debeo, tum ut ista in me animi tui inductione perpetuo manere velis, etiam atque etiam oro. Quod ad PATRICIUM hunc attinet, quem tuis mihi literis commendavisti, vellem sane meo ipsum juvandi studio eventum respondere potuisse. Quid, et quantum tuam ob commendationem pro ipso fecerim, apud eos qui regis hujus sunt quasi τὰ ὦτα καὶ ὄμματα, ab ipso dici potius quam a me commemorari volo. Quantum vero hoc tempore diligentia mea obtineri potuerit, id potius exponam, quum tu ipse tuis hoc ipsum literis a me fieri cupias. Rex lectis serenissimæ reginæ ELIZABETHÆ, et reginæ Scotiæ literis, per cancellarium respondit, Anglorum suis in portubus spoliatorum caussam se tempore ac loco magis opportuno nequaquam neglecturum: quumque fore existimet, ut brevi de gravioribus quibusdam negotiis cum Scotis tractationem sit initurus, hujus quoque caussæ jam binis serenissimæ reginæ literis sibi commendatæ curam clementer suscepturum; idque hunc PATRICIUM, cæterosque spoliatos re ipsa intellecturos, si modo vel ipsi vel eorum caussæ procurator quispiam eodem tempore interpellet. Hæc caussa est, cur neque ad serenissimæ reginæ Angliæ, neque ad reginæ Scotiæ literas, rex hoc tempore quicquam respondeat. Legi ipse utrasque; reginæ quidem ELIZABETHÆ pro spoliatorum caussa per sane clementer scriptas, alteras vero alterius adversus Anglos querimoniarum plenas. Queritur enim, et valde queritur regina, suos ab Anglis antea non semel tantum, sed aliquoties in regis hujus stationibus misere esse spoliatos, navium vero aut bonorum direptorum hactenus nihil etiam obnixe sollicitantes recuperare potuisse: Anglos neque ita gravem injuriam passos neque ita frequenter, restitutionem petere: quum prius ipsos direpta reddere

conveniat, quam a Scotis restitutionem postulare: id ipsum si regina Angliæ ignoret, de eo majestatem ejus admonendam esse.

Hæc et ejus generis alia, quantum memini, in Scotiæ reginæ literis continebantur, quæ PATRICII ac aliorum caussam non parum videntur gravare, quemadmodum et illud, quod officiarii, qui rebus Islandicis nomine regis eo tempore præfuerunt, pro certo affirmant, portorium quod dari solet, non esse persolutum, nec cautionem de solvendo postulantibus datam, idque ipsum comitem ab ARUNDEL, Doctorem PETRUM secretarium ac cæteros consiliarios non ignorare, quum huic caussæ audiendæ præfuerunt. Quæ res si ad veros calculos revocetur, verendum est, ne ipsa spoliatorum caussæ plus sit obfutura quam profutura. Tametsi enim regis hujus in Islandia jurisdictio a Scotis graviter sit violata, tamen quum vestrates portorio non soluto domum abierint, quæri fortasse poterit, utrum hic rex defensionem ipsis debeat, nisi velit eam pro sua erga ipsos clementia suscipere. Quod equidem facturum confido, tempore magis opportuno, quum id ita per Cancellarium suum promiserit. Habes, mi ASCHAME, quid in hac caussa tota actum sit, in quo commemorando ideo fui prolixior, ut intelligeres, in ea apud hosce homines promovenda, quidvis potius quam aut voluntatem aut juvandi studium mihi defuisse. Quo me animo erga omnes tuos mihi abs te commendandos semper esse futurum, tibi velim persuadeas. Serenissimæ Reginæ et Domino Secretario CECILIO, ubi dabitur occasio, me quæso commendes, huic etiam verbis meis gratias agas pro multis et magnis ipsius in me tum officiis, tum beneficiis, quæ ipsa memoria perpetua retinebo, pro incolumitate ipsius, Deum assidue precaturus. Bene vale, ASCHAME doctissime, et mutuam

amicitiam nostram mutuis literis, quotiescunque erit occasio, fove atque confirma. Hafniæ, XXV Decembris, Anno Domini 1561.

XXXIII.—TO PRINCE . . . . (4, 48).

Serenissimo Potentissimoque Principi N. Pro quibusdam mercatoribus Anglis—Serenissime, potentissime, clementissime Princeps—Intelligit vestra majestas, quomodo, ante aliquot annos, nos mercatores Angli, GULIELMUS CAUSTON, GULIELMUS SMITH, et ego cum aliis nostris sociis in Wespende insula a certis Scotis misere fuimus spoliati. Intelligit etiam vestra majestas, hoc Scotorum facto non solum nostras fortunas valde misere esse spoliatas, verum etiam multo magis vestræ majestatis auctoritatem, protectionis jus, et jurisdictiones in ea insula nimis insolenter et audacter esse violatas. Nimis enim grave nobis, et non tolerabile vestræ majestati fuit, ut, quum nos omnia debita vectigalia, omnia justa portoria, vestris istic officiariis plene persolvissemus, statim vestra et violata jurisdictione, et spreta protectione, et contempta majestate, tanta vi et injuria opprimeremur. Has nostras querelas nimis veras esse, nemo melius intelligit, quam vestra majestas. Quæ, pro sua regia innata bonitate, pro nostra justa caussa, in nostram gratiam, superiori anno, ad serenissimam Scotorum reginam scribere dignata est. Quid vero sua serenitas responderit, nos quidem non intelligimus: hoc plane nos ac certo scimus, post Deum, in terris aliam non esse majestatem, ad cujus auxilium in hac nostra calamitate nos confugere possimus, præterquam ad vestram regiam protectionem, et benignissimam bonitatem. Itaque respice nostram miseriam, clementissime princeps, et tuere tuum jus,

potentissime rex: fieri enim non potest, non potest fieri, prudentissime princeps, ut hac in caussa nostra prematur fortuna, quin tua una violetur etiam majestas. Et propterea, nos in spe læta et erecta sumus, non plus Scotorum audaciam in auferendo, quam vestram majestatem in restituendo nostras fortunas posse valere. Atque ut finem faciamus, si hæc nostra præsens calamitas æquitate vestra et matura ope levetur, certo scimus Deum, justum omnium judicem, pro hac nobis exhibita justitia, justum aliquando præmium cumulate vestræ majestati elargiturum; et nos assidue precabimur Deum, ut sacram vestram majestatem optatissimis liberis, longissimis annis, maximis imperiis, et omnibus faustis felicitatibus perpetuo beare dignetur.

XXXIV.—TO STURM (1, 12)

Acknowledges not having written to Sturm for three years—Says he has had bad health for four years—Says Sturm's last letter to him was dated Jan. 15, 1560—Speaks of Queen Elizaabeth, how she had reformed the coinage, &c., and sends him the word *quemadmodum* written with her own hand—Also about books, and sends by Toxites a ring from Mrs Ascham to Mrs Sturm. This letter is here printed more correctly from the Zurich Letters.

London, Ap. 11, 1562.

Rogerus Aschamus Joanni Sturmio S.P.—Quid hoc est, mi STURMI, MICHAEL TOXITES, tam communis amicus, tam optatus tabellarius, isthinc huc sine tuis ad me? An COOCUS, an HALESIUS, an quisquam Anglorum omnium, aut tui studiosior, aut tuarum literarum avidior quam ego sum? Ast videor audire te contra, Hem, mi ASCHAME, tu mecum silentium scribendi expostules, qui ne γρῦ quidem literarum hoc triennium ad me? Verum mechriste, dicis, mi optatissime JOHANNES STURMI. Et tota hæc mea tecum

expostulandi ratio, non iracunda, non objurgatoria: sed insidiosa prorsus, et a me data opera, subornata est. Verebar enim ne tu, quod jure quidem poteras, priores de taciturnitate expostulandi partes occupares. Sed valeant ista, jam vere et aperte scribam, mi STURMI: non voluntate mea, non oblivione tui, non neglectione officii, factum est hoc tam longum scribendi intervallum. Non quia deerat mihi, vel scribendi materies, vel mittendi facultas, tam diu nostræ conticuerunt literæ. Sed quum justam caussam a me audies, non iram tibi, et stomachum contra me, sed dolorem et mœstitiam pro me, quem scio amas, commovebo. Hos quattuor proximos superiores annos, ita continentibus febribus correptus sum, ut una vix me unquam reliquerit, quin etiam altera statim sit consequuta. Atque sic rationes salutis meæ omnes, istis nexis et jugatis febribus, sunt fractæ et convulsæ; ut jam corpus meum omne febris illa hectica occupaverit; cui medicorum filii allevamentum aliquando, remedium solidum nunquam pollicentur. Jam, qui sunt veri amici mihi, et inter eos certissimus amicus meus JOANNES HALESIUS, crebro occinunt mihi lugubre illud Thetidis ad filium apud HOMERUM carmen:

ἐπεί νύ τοι αἶσα μίννυθά περ, οὔτι μάλα δήν.

Et quanquam legimus clarissimos viros *ὠκυμορωτάτους* fuisse, quid hoc ad me hominem non alti sed demissi animi? Istam consolandi rationem sive *ποιητικὴν* sive *ἱστορικὴν* prorsus ego repudio. Sed, quando refero me ad nostrum illum veræ integræque salutis præceptorem, qui affirmat, tantum adjici homini interno, quantum adimitur externo, non mœroribus me dedo: sed nova novæ quidem vitæ gaudia ex hac valetudinis meæ infirmitate percipio. Ac de his rebus plus alias: cupio enim hoc tempore longum tecum instituere ser-

monem; quum revera minimum otii ad id efficiendum in præsenti mihi suppetat; sic me meumque tempus omne his ipsis diebus Serenissima Regina ad scribendum tot literas distrahit.

Recentissimæ tuæ ad me literæ datæ sunt XV Januarii, 1560. Quarum literarum duo capita, alterum de negotio Scotico, altérum de Reginæ connubio me commovebant, ut eas ipsi Reginæ legendas darem: illa in utroque singularem tuam erga ipsam observantiam, et prudenter animadvertit, et amabiliter agnovit, atque prædicavit. De rebus tum temporis Scoticis, tuum valde probavit judicium: et te de tua pro nobis et nostris etiam nunc deamat sollicitudine. Locum de connubio, ter, probe memini, perlegebat, suaviter quidem subinde ὑπομειδιῶσα, sed pudice admodum et verecunde conticescens. De illius connubio, mi optatissime JOHANNES STURMI, certi quidquam, nec ego quod scribam, nec quisquam alius, scio, apud nos quod statuat, habet. Non de nihilo, mi STURMI, sed judicio olim, in primis ego meis illis prolixis ad te literis, scripsi, illam in omni vitæ suæ ratione, HIPPOLYTEN non PHÆDRAM referre. Quem locum ipse tum, non ad corporis cultum, sed ad animi castitatem, omnino referebam, natura enim sua, non cujusquam consilio, a nuptiis tam aliena et abstinens existit. Quum sciam aliquid certi, primo quoque tempore scribam ad te: interea de Rege Suecorum non habeo ullam, quam tibi spem faciam. Cupio ut scribas aliquando ad D. CECILIUM: est enim et in religione integerrimus, et in republica prudentissimus, et utriusque sane post Deum et principem columen firmissimum: et etiam literarum et literatorum hominum amantissimus, et in utraque lingua ipse quoque pereruditus. De rebus nostris, aves scio audire ex me; neque ego habeo, quod potius

scribendum putem, quam de ipsa Regina. Complectar igitur breviter, quam magnas ipsa atque præstantes res, ex quo gubernacula rerum suscepit, et prudenter molita est, et feliciter perfecit. Primum officium suum Deo dicavit: nam religionem, quam misere fœdatam invenit, præclare perpurgavit: in qua re perficienda eam adhibuit commoderationem, ut ipsi Papistæ non habeant dicere, secum duriter actum fuisse. Hanc pacem cum Deo constitutam sequuta est pax cum omnibus vicinis principibus, et tamen quum ipsa ad summam rerum accessit, regnum hoc, gemino implicatum bello, Scotico et Gallico, invenit. Deinde Guisianis mira spirantibus contra nos, tam fortiter et prudenter restitit in Scotia, ut jam inter utrumque regnum, et inter utramque principem, tam secura pax, tam arcta amicitia intercedat: quam inter duas, vel quietissimas vicinias vel concordissimas sorores queat intercedere. Postquam Religio primum, deinde respublica, tam optatæ tranquillitati fuerat restituta: animum appulit ad alia regni magis domestica ornamenta rite constituenda. Pecuniam depravatam universam et totam factam æneam, argenteam puram putam effecit; opus arduum et regium, quod non EDVARDUS, non HENRICUS ipse, vel aggredi unquam ausus est, Armamentarium conquisitissimo apparatu sic instruxit. ut nullus Europæus, scio, princeps, par ostendere queat. Classem itidem ab omni apparatu, sive rerum copiam, hominum facultatem spectes, ita ornavit ac munivit, ut opes opulenti alicujus regni in hanc unam rem erogari videri queant. Hæc publica et totius regni sunt: ipsius magis propria, sive studia, sive mores aspiciamus. Injuriæ privatæ facile obliviscens, justitiæ communis severe colens est; sceleris gratiam nulli facit, impunitatis spem nemini relinquit, licentiam omnem

omnibus præcidit. Hoc denique PLATONIS præceptum in omni actione sua, ante oculos suos semper proponit, ut leges dominæ hominum, non homines domini legum, in toto Angliæ regno existant. Præterea, res et opes subjectorum; minime omnium principum appetit; suas ad privatam omnem voluptatem, parce, et frugaliter, ad publicum quemquam, sive communis commoditatis usum, sive domesticæ magnificentiæ splendorem, regifice et largiter attribui jubet. Jam vero quas ex se laudes habet, et quæ sunt in ipsa ingenii et doctrinæ ornamenta, in aliis literis ad te scripsi: hoc nunc adjiciam, non esse in aula, in academiis, non inter eos, qui vel religioni vel reipublicæ præsident, apud nos quattuor nostrates, qui melius intelligunt Græcam linguam, quam ipsa regina. Quum legit DEMOSTHENEM vel ÆSCHINEM, admirationem mihi ipsa sæpenumero movet, quum video illam scienter intelligere, non dico, verborum potestatem, sententiarum structuram, proprietatem linguæ, orationis ornamenta et totius sermonis numerosam ac concinnam comprehensionem: sed illa etiam quæ majora sunt, oratoris sensum atque stomachum, totius caussæ contentionem, populi et scita et studia, urbis cujusque mores atque instituta, et quæ sunt hujus generis reliqua omnia. In aliis linguis, quid et quantum potest, omnes domestici, plurimi exteri, testes existunt.

Adfui ego quodam die, quum uno tempore tribus oratoribus, imperatoris, Gallico, et Suecico, triplici lingua, Italica uni, Gallica alteri, Latina tertio, facile non hæsitanter, expedite, non perturbate, ad varias res tum illorum sermone ut fit jactatas respondebat. Ut ipse videas quam polite illa scribit, mitto ad te his literis inclusam schedulam, in qua habes verbum, *quemadmodum*, propria reginæ manu conscriptum.

Superius meum est, inferius reginæ. An jucundum tibi sit spectaculum, et gratum munus, proximis literis tuis significa. Et hæc de nostra nobilissima regina, et mea seorsum munificentissima domina, et JOANNIS STURMII etiam perstudiosa. Atque si contigerit unquam tibi in Angliam venire, ex ipsius ore, credo, intelliges, ROGERUM ASCHAMUM JOANNIS STURMII, apud tantam principem, memorem amicum fuisse. Hunc sermonem de hac præstantissima nostra regina, tu credo legis, ego certe scribo, cum summa utriusque nostrum voluptate. Si nuberet, laudi ampliori locum non relinqueret. Utinam tu, mi Sturmi, omnem illam quam ex optimis et sapiendi et dicendi fontibus hausisti, sive διάγνωσιν ex DEMOSTHENE, sive eloquentiam ex CICERONE, ad hanc rem persuadendam adhiberes. Neque a te honestior caussa suscipi, quam hæc est, nec a me major facultas optari, quam in te est, altera ulla potest: ut ipsa deligat quem vult cupimus; ut alii quenquam ei designent non cupimus; et nostratem potius quam ullum externum, omnes nos expectamus. Nolim te hæc nescire, si fortasse tu aliquid aliquando de hac re cogitare velis. Nam si ad tot illa ejus erga hoc regnum beneficia, quæ a me paulo ante commemorata sunt, hoc unum addat, nulla gens nobis beatior esse poterit. Καὶ τῇ δε ταῦτα: de aliis rebus nostris, alias; nunc venio ad te, mi STURMI. Gaudebam quum intellexi ex tuis ante annum literis ad JOANNEM HALESIUM scriptis, *Aristotelem* tuum *rhetoricum* esse absolutum. Et mirifice mihi placuit illud, quod addidisti: "In illis vos omnes, etiam MORYSINUS et CHECUS." Quum intellexi ex sermone TOXITÆ nostri, eos libros omnes WERTEROS frates secum in Thuringiam deportasse, minime quidem gaudebam. Cavere debent illi fratres, ne non tam genere et doctrina nobiles, quam hoc faci-

nore nobilitati sint. Injuriam faciunt tibi, ipsis literarum studiis, et multorum bonorum sollicitæ expectationi, et nisi de me ipse scriberem, in primis etiam mihi; qui licet non auctor, hortator tamen tibi fui, ut hos præclaros labores luce et immortalitate dignos, tenebris et sordida aliqua cistula indignissimos susciperes. Si vero isti præstantes ingenii tui fructu per horum juvenum sordes atque avaritiam putrescant ac intereant, ego ipse profecto experiar: sed reprimam me, nec gravius aliquid in eos dicam, priusquam de hoc illorum facto sententiam tuam intellexero. Itaque si me amas, mi STURMI, dum adhuc vivo, (nam ut scripsi, hectica mea mihi ὠκυμορίαν minitatur) ne permittas me fraudari suavissimo horum librorum fructu. Primum et alterum librum habui: sed primum, quem legendum commodabam GUALTERO HADDONO supplicum librorum magistro, negligentia famulorum ejus amisi. His libris sæpe perlectitandis me ipse delectavi; his superioribus nundinis reliquos omnes expectabam. Effice quæso ne diu frustretur hæc nostra expectatio, quæ cum tua tanta laude, cum studiosorum omnium tanta commoditate conjuncta est.

Vehementer gaudeo, te, quod scribis ad JOANNEM HALESIUM, scripsisse pro PHILIPPO, contra STAPHYLUM sycophantam. Ex scriptis illius colligo, eum esse non solum GNATHONEM circumforaneum, sed THRASONEM etiam aliquem, scilicet honorarium: nam quam inepta sit ejus et insolens arrogantia, satis apparet ex subscriptione suarum literarum ad episcopum EYSTATENSEM, ubi ait, "Tuæ dominationi, etc. FREDERICUS STAPHILUS Cæsareæ majestatis consiliarius;" id quod populus scire curat scilicet. Nec puto ego hanc esse impressoris culpam, sed ipsius STAPHYLI projectam impudentiam: nam hoc idem ipse de se, in libello Ἀπολογητικῷ *contra Phili-*

pum scribit. Liber ad Eystatensem episcopum superiore anno ab eo scriptus est Germanice, versus Latine opinor per fratrem Carmelitanum, impressus Coloniæ, totus virulentus atque διαβολικός. Rogo te, non per SICELIDES musas, sed per ipsas sacras literas, ut librum tuum contra STAPHYLUM in lucem exire primo quoque tempore permittas. Mirifica perfundebar lætitia, quum legi in literis tuis impressis, ad COOCUM nostrum, te scripsisse *de controversia Cœnæ* librum, ut ipse ais, minime iracundum, tamen ut tu speras argumentosum. Facile fidem tibi adhibebo, mi Sturmi: novi enim naturam tuam ad quietem et pacem, non iracundiam et contentionem totam propositam. Novi etiam doctrinam tuam, qua facile soles, et probare quod suscipis, et vincere ubi pugnas, et ubi vires tuas exercendas jure esse censes. Gaudium mihi grandius non contigit hos multos annes, quam quum TOXITES noster mihi narravit, tua studia sacris literis mirifice esse addicta. Caussa religionis plurimum quidem amisit discessu PHILIPPI et MARTINI BUCERI. Sed plus profecto recuperabit accessu JOANNIS STURMII ad illius propugnationem. Precor a Deo patre et Domino nostro ac Deo JESU CHRISTO, ut cujus spiritus accitu evocaris e latibulis Parnassi et Heliconis, ad lætissima pascua montis Sionis, montis pinguis, in illius spiritus ductum te totum ipse des. Et quanquam ipse tibi libenter concederem et hospitium Romæ, et diversorium Athenis, ut ad utram velis urbem, voluptatis caussa, et veteris necessitudinis atque familiaritatis recolendæ gratia, aliquando divertas; assiduam tamen habitationem tuam et tabernaclum non solum vitæ, sed studiorum tuorum omnium in ipsa Hierusalem, civitate magna Dei optarem perpetuo collocari. Et credo ego, multa orationis et clariora lumina, et grandiora fulmina posse abs te

ostendi, in nostris illis, DAVIDE, ESAIA, JOANNE, et PAULO, quam in omnibus PINDARIS, PLATONIBUS, DEMOSTHENIBUS, atque CICERONIBUS unquam emicuere. Oro Deum, si fas sit hoc petere, ut eam mihi hujus vitæ usuram concedat, aliquando ut videam aculeos styli tui, vel tua sponte exertos, vel quovis alio elisu excussos, contra fucos pontificum qui cellas cælatiores, et nidos omnes fere meliores in ipso Dei templo occupant.

Vereor, mi STURMI, ne plus te hac præsenti mea prolixitate offendam, quam omni illa mea superiore ἀεισιγίᾳ καὶ ἐχεμυθίᾳ : quanquam si partiri vis hanc loquacem in varias literas, dici non potest quin multas ad te jam scripserim. Sed ignosces, uti spero, meæ prolixitati, quam si offensam ullam tibi pariat, ulciscere quæso prolixioribus tuis.

Rogo te, mi STURMI, quid sentias de DIONYSIO HALICARNASSEO ? credo ego illum fuisse ipsum Dionysium qui docuit in ædibus CICERONIS et cujus frequens mentio est in epistolis CICERONIS. CICERO ejus probat eruditionem plurimum, mores non item. Quum discesseris ab illa una urbe, et ab illa una PHILIPPI et ALEXANDRI ætate, non video, quem Græcum, non PLUTARCHUM ipsum excipio, cum hoc DIONYSIO HALICARNASSEO possis comparare. Cupio scire ex te, an hæc opinio mea tuo judicio sit aliqua, an prorsus inanis. Libellus enim *ad Tuberonem*, de judicio suo de historia THUCYDIDIS, mirifice mihi placet. Uxor mea, quia scit te a me amari, ipsa etiam diligit tuam uxorem, et suæ benevolentiæ μνημόσυνον annulum aureum in formam sagittæ redactum ei mittit, cum hac inscriptione, Donum fidelis amici. TOXITES habet annulum. Ignosces literis ; non enim vacabat describere ; ita festinabat Toxites noster. Vale in Christo Jesus. Ex

ædibus meis, Londini, XI Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1562. Tui studiosissimus R. ASCHAMUS.

Ornatissimo viro, eruditissimo homini
D. Johanni Sturmio, amico meo
carissimo. Argentinæ.

XXXV.—TO THE PEOPLE OF DANTZIC (4, 59).

Complains of frauds committed by some of their merchants in supplying bad goods and short measure.

Eisdem—Magnifici Domini, illustres, spectabiles, amici carissimi. Varii nostri subditi, probi et exploratæ fidei viri, graviter conqueruntur, quod merces illæ, quas isthic Gedani de more comparant et in Angliam apportant, ut linum, canabis, pix, et id genus aliæ quum aridæ tum fluidæ merces, jam veteri vestrarum mercium nec bonitati nec mensuræ quidem respondeant. Quæ res non solum detrimentosa nostrorum fortunis, sed perincommoda nostræ classi, propter fallacem atque inhabilem hoc modo omnem funestrem apparatum, et nimis etiam periculosa, eadem ipsa de causa, omnibus nostris existit, qui vitam suam navigationi et venti marisque discrimini addixerunt. Hanc, non vestræ inclytæ urbis communem culpam, sed certorum vestrorum vel negligentem incuriam, vel dedita opera admissam fraudem, nostri nobis plane esse asseverant, et nominatim eorum hominum, qui mercium examinatores et fabri vasarii apud vos designantur. Atque, licet, uti plane judicamus, inscientibus vobis et invitis etiam hæ injuriosæ imposturæ et excogitatæ et exercitæ sint, ipsa tamen æquitas postulat, et vestræ item erit prudentiæ diligenter inprimis videre, ne hæc nova paucorum hominum fraus, ad privatum structa quæstum, communi vestræ urbis nomini et dignitati,

quæ prisca et præcipua justi commercii laude multis jam seculis floruit, graviorem aliquam notam inurat. Sed qui persuasum habemus, vos prudenter et opportune maturum remedium huic malo adhibituros, volumus itaque, ut hæc quæ scribimus, non graviter expostulandi sed amice commonefaciendi nomine a vobis accipiantur. Atque quo melius statuatis de nostrorum detrimento et vestrorum injuria, mandavimus, ut omnes illæ damnosæ fraudes, de quibus nostri conqueruntur, in separato seorsum scripto, communi civitatis nostræ Londini sigillo consignato, fusius et explicatius perscribantur. Præterea, pergratum est nobis intelligere, ex sermone THOMÆ ALANI dilecti famuli nostri, nostrique mercatoris, quod superiori anno factores ejus in parandis isthic isthincque transportandis multis rebus, nostro jussu, nostraque pecunia ad nostræ classis usum comparatis, præcipuam quandam vestram, in nostram quidem gratiam, et benevolentiam et humanitatem sunt experti. Quam gratificandi nobis rationem, si similem hoc anno, eisdem famuli nostri factoribus, persimile nostrum negotium jam obeuntibus, pari benevolentiæ studio declaraveritis, officium nobis ut ipsa re pergratum, sic mutuo vicissim officio, in omni commoda opportunitate a nobis compensandum facietis. Feliciter valeatis.

XXXVI.—TO MAXIMILIAN, KING OF BOHEMIA (L, 83).

Introduces to his notice the queen's agents, Knolles and Mount, and begs that he will give good heed to what they have to say.

Sep. 25, 1562.

D. Maximilio regi Boemiæ, Elizabetha, etc. HENRICUS KNOLLES, vir nobilis unusque ex privata nostra

camera, et CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS Legum Doctor, rerum nostrarum in Germania actor, in mandatis habent ut nostro nomine nostrisque verbis quædam nostra consilia, magni quidem momenti, imprimis cum vestra serenitate communicent. Nec dubitamus quin amplam fidem eorum sermoni vestra serenitas sit tributura et ipsarum item rerum de quibus acturi sunt eam rationem quam hæc tempora postulant libenter multis justis de causis sit habitura. Et vestram humanitatem nostris nostra causa declaratam pari benevolentiæ ratione, quum usus postulet, libenter sumus compensaturæ. Deus, etc. 1562, XXV° Sept.

XXXVII.—TO FERDINAND, EMPEROR ELECT (L, 83).

On the same subject as the last. Hampton Court, Sep. 25, 1562.

Cæsari—Elizabetha, etc. domino Ferdinando electo Romano imperatori semper Augusto. — Mandatum dedimus fidelibus et perdilectis nostris HENRICO KNOLLES, viro nobili et uni ex privata nostra camera, et CHRISTOPHORO MONTIO Legum Doctori, rerum mearum in Germania actori, ut certa nostra consilia, nostro nomine, nostrisque verbis cum vestra majestate communicent. Quibus facilem aditum, benignas aures, et amplam fidem in explicanda animi nostri sententia ut vestra concedat majestas summopere rogamus: quemadmodum nos vicissim vestris, quando similis usus feret, libenter sumus concessuræ. 1562, apud Hampton Court, XXV Sept. Deus, etc.

XXXVIII.—TO STURM (1, 13).

Tells him he has christened his third son STURM.

London, Oct. 20, 1562.

Rogerus Aschamus Joanni Sturmio S. P. in Christo Jesu. Quum nos inter nos eodem erga literas, religionem, rempublicam, et mutuam amicitiam, studio, judicio, animo atque sensu conjungimur, opto ego sæpe adeoque volo, ut nostri itidem aliquo insigni nexu, nonnulloque paris inter se quoque amoris alendi incitamento contineantur. Et propterea, quum uxor mea ante octo dies jam tertio me patrem fecerit, filiolo meo, in perpetuam nostræ amicitiæ memoriam, nomen posui STURMIUS ASCHAMI. Precor a Deo, et in dies singulos precaturus sum, ut is, perinde ut nominis, ita doctrinæ virtutisque tuæ aliquam similitudinem referat. Hunc ergo tuum tibi, licet non agnatione, nec gente, ipsa tamen nominatione ac parentum voluntate conjunctum, quomodo fieri potest, tuæ fidei trado, tuæ tutelæ commendo, ut si quid mihi humanitus accidat, tu eum eadem humanitate, benevolentia, *καὶ στοργῇ* complectare, qua me patrem ejus antea semper prosequi consuevisti: *περί μεν γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὠκυμορίας*, satis fuse cum fusis lacrymis et nimis dolenter, in prolixioribus illis meis literis superiori Aprili per TOXITEM nostrum ad te missis, ipse scripsi. Sollicitus sum et avidus sciendi, an illæ literæ ad manus tuas pervenerint. Scripsi etiam ad te per HENRICUM KNOLLES, oratorem hoc tempore serenissimæ Reginæ ad Germaniæ principes; ab eo, est enim tui perstudiosus, commodissime intelliges omnem rerum nostrarum in Anglia statum. Serenissima regina est et optime animata, et ab omni re commodissime parata, ad frangendam vim illam et tyrannidem Guisianam; ad propugnandum pro incolumitate impuberis regis,

pro salute innocentis populi; sine omni, vel injuria in illum regem, vel detrimento in illud regnum ullo modo intentando. Hoc, credo, die, milites nostri ingressi sunt in Normanniam; quod tu prius ex ipso rumore quam ex his meis literis intelliges. Utinam, mi STURMI, tu scribere velles separatam historiam hujus conjurationis Guisianæ. Nec tamen sum nescius, ut ille noster in simili causa sit, quantis indies susceptarum gravium rerum oneribus premeris. At sum ipse quidem cupidus non minus tuæ gloriæ quam mei commodi. Materies præclara est, digna tua doctrina, facultate, studio erga puram religionem, amore erga illam gentem, animo in ipsam caussam, et stomacho etiam contra illos tam impiæ tyrannidis immanisque crudelitatis auctores. Sæpissime legi; meminero semper præclari illius loci, quem tu tractas de recta ratione scribendæ historiæ, in quadam tua epistola ad ERASMUM episcopum vestrum Argentoratensem. Quum ad illam facultatem, quam in te esse is locus arguit, respicio, nescio quomodo cæteros facile contemno, et ut tu tale munus aliquando suscipias, a Deo optimo maximo precibus et votis exposco. Hoc meum desiderium multum lenivit sermo huc e Germania allatus, tibi a principibus Germaniæ provinciam esse datam persequendi stylo tuo τὰ παραλειπόμενα vestri JOANNIS SLEIDANI. Hoc ita esse, ipse reginæ nostræ omni asseveratione affirmavi. An ita sit, quæso, me certiorem facias. De *rhetore* tuo *Aristotelico*, de libris, altero *contra Staphylum*, altero *de Cœna Domini* aveo scire. De reliquis item studiis et rebus tuis. HALESIUS noster ruri est; hodie ad illum scripsi. COOCUS quoque ruri est. CECILLUS, studio, ingenio, prudentia, et constantia, cum magna et ejus laude, et nostrorum utilitate, et exterorum, ut spero, salute, primum illum versum

secundi libri *Epistolarum* HORATII præclare sustinet. Ipse, nunquam, Deo sint gratiæ, in majori gratia fui apud serenissimam reginam. Aliquid Græce aut Latine quotidie mecum legit. Mea uxor tuam et te salutat. Vale in Christo. Londini, xx mensis Octobris, Anno Dom. 1562. Tui studiosissimus R. ASCHAMUS.

Clarissimo viro D. Johanni Sturmio,
Argentoratensis academiæ rectori,
amico meo carissimo.

XXXIX.—TO MR EDW. CALLIBUT (w, 274*)

Complains of his failing to pay a debt as he had promised.

SIR,—To use me your friend so ill is to deal not the best truly with yourself: you give if I would take over-great occasion to think otherwise of you now than ever I thought before myself, or am wont oft and gladly to report of you to others: for I assure you there is no gentleman of your degree neither in court nor city, whose credit I thought greater, whose word I took surer, than MR EDWARD CALLIBUT, and yet you know how oft you have said to myself, to my man, Repute me no gentleman, report me no honest man, if I do not then and there. The thing is small, and therefore as I take it you are rather forgetful to send than greedy to keep it. And because the thing is so small, if the folly were not greater to lose it then the loss is to forego it, I would neither have spoke myself, nor sent my man so oft for it. I acknowledge the small value of it, and yet you know that a little ink may make a great blurr if the paper be fair and untouched before: waste paper can bear both blurrs and blots, and never blush thereat, as the common proverb saith, but honest men are loath to have them, and ready to cleanse them. I speak far off, as one not very willing

to note over-nigh or touch over-hard his friend's fault or sore. Therefore I pray you so end the matter now, as I need not hereafter either to spend more speech myself, or to send my man in vain unto you. And wishing to you as to myself, I bid you heartily farewell.—Your very well-wishing friend, R. ASCHAM.

To my well-beloved friend, Mr Edward Callibut, these.

XL.—TO THE MASTER, ETC. OF ST JOHN'S (3, 34).

Wishing to rent from the college their farm of Bromehall, near Windsor. Jan. 18, 1563.

Magistro, sociis et scholaribus collegii divi Joannis Cantabrigiæ. Quantum celeberrimo isti Collego, celeberrimi viri, et inclytæ vestræ consociationi debeo, suavi ipse indies recolo memoria, frequenteque apud omnes meo sœpe commemoro sermone: et quo libentius me meaque omnia vobis debeo, eo plus deinceps me velle quoque debere ingenue præ me fero. Nam ut antea, non voluntate solum et studio sed officio atque merito, isti nostro Collegio, ego, si quisquam alius, eram atque sum semperque sum futurus addictissimus; —ita nunc vobis, vestro seorsim beneficio, communi jure, privato nexu, mancipatus esse cupio. Cupio enim ego, ille olim alumnus vester, vester jam fieri villicus, et fundum vestrum Bromehallensem, prope hic a Regia Windesoria situm, pro anniversaria de more pensione, et pro consueto inde vobis percipiendo fructu, mihi meisque ad certos annos conductum, de vobis habere. Hæc mea omnis petitio, prudentissimi viri, non perinde ad utilitatem rei, quam ut ad commoditatem loci a me instituta est: nam quo opportunius et melius istic habitetur, ipse meis non parcam sumptibus, quum ædes illæ jam, ut nunc sunt

sive villicorum incuria neglectæ, sive temporum vetustate exesæ, male materiatæ et valde ruinosæ existunt. De conditionibus non ambigemus ; accipiam enim quæ offerentur. Si quid ultra etiam requiritis vel ad publicum augendum ærarium, vel ad communem et mihi olim dulcissimum vestrum ornandum convictum, nec ad commodandum universis, nec ad gratificandum singulis, ullum meum pro vestro arbitratu prætermittetur officium. Ad hanc porro rem urgendam non extraordinariam aliquam gratiam, non adscitam cujusquam auctoritatem, quæ res mihi non ita difficilis fuisset, sed vestram solummodo benevolentiam libenter adhibeo. Vobis enim non aliis debere hoc beneficium volo. Si qua in re ipse aut Collegii servire dignitati, aut cujusquam vestrum vel utilitati consulere, vel ornamento prospicere queam, non vestras morari expectationes, sed omnes persequi opportunitates, studiose et diligenter laborabo. Deus, etc., Jan. 18, 1563.

XLI.—TO THE PRINCESS CECILIA (4, 72).

For the queen—speaks of two letters having been intercepted between them during the present year. Lady Cecilia is about to return to England in consequence of the death of the Palatine Belzensis [of Beltz?], her husband. This letter occurs also in MS. L, 97. Windsor, Feb. 25, 1563.

Clarissimæ dom. Ceciliæ Sueciæ, Gothicæ, Vandaliæ principi, consanguineæ nostræ. Clarissima Princeps, consanguinea carissima. Quo planius apparet, quam propensa sit et ad omnem observantiam erga nos parata vestra voluntas, eo gravius ferimus eorum injurias, qui bis jam hoc anno interceptis nostris literis effecerunt, ut declaratio nostræ vicissim mutuæ benevolentiæ nondum, perinde ut voluimus, ad vestram Excellentiam pervenerit. Et si hominum improbitas in literis excutiendis constitisset, tolerabilior quidem

fuisset; sed quum irruerit etiam ad auferendum certa quædam munera, quæ nos ad ornatum vestri, ad memoriam nostri, una misimus, immanitas et barbaries plane habenda est. Qmnes vero vestros amore mutuo, ut par est, et libenter amamus; constantiam autem propositi vestri, in Angliam ad nos perveniendi, et nos ipsæ valde amplectimur, et quod ad illam rem promovendam spectat, ad serenissimum fratrem vestrum diligenter conscripsimus. Vos ergo non vestras expectamus literas: quum in Anglia eritis, sedulo curabimus, ut omnibus vestro et respondeatur voto et satis fiat voluntati: nec permittemus, ut observantiæ vestræ, quam benevolentiæ nostræ expeditior cursus existat. Et in hac mutua voluntatum nostrarum conjunctione, eosdem etiam animorum sensus inesse experimur. Nam, quantum capimus voluptatis ex vestra erga nos benevolentia, tantum sane haurimus dŏloris ex vestro nunc mœrore, quem indignus obitus dignissimi viri et vobis quidem carissimi nuper attulit. At si, quam sumus nos propensæ ad respondendum in omni mutuo amore, tam essemus itidem felices in consolando in hoc vestro luctu, facile efficeremus, ut omnis vestri mœroris aculeus vel omnino sublatus vel magnam partem delinitus esset. Sed quum inter reliquas vestras virtutes prudentiam sic eminere intelligimus, ut illa omnibus vestris non intersit solum, sed præsit etiam consiliis, non dubitamus, quin eam doloris medicinam jam occupet ratio, quam ipsa dies paulo post necessario sit allatura. Auditione accepimus, multas et magnas fuisse illustrissimi Belzensis Palatini virtutes; sed fratrem ejus patruelem, illustrissimum dominum Joannem Comitem in Thenezem, Capitaneum Rohatinensem, de quo quid sentimus ut scribamus rogamur, hic in Anglia vidimus, cujus in mente et moribus præ-

stans quædam dignitas elucebat. Hunc itaque carum vobis fore existimamus, et per se et propter illius etiam respectum, qui olim fuit carissimus. Sed de his et aliis multis fusius, quum opportuna et temporis et loci commoditas nobis dabitur. Interim omnes florentes felicitates ad animi vestri sententiam vestræ Excellentiæ a Deo exoptamus. Windesoræ, 25 Feb. 1563.

XLII.—TO JOHN, COUNT OF THENEZIM (4, 73).

For the queen—consoles him for the murder of his cousin, the P[alatine of] B[eltz?], in Denmark, and has written to his widow Lady Cecilia on the subject. This letter also occurs in MS. L, 93. Feb. 25, 1563.

Illustrissimo domino, Joanni Comiti in Thenezim capitaneo Rohatinensi, amico nobis plurimum dilecto. Illustrissime, clarissime. Leo Curio fidelis vester servitor, et Georgius North dilectus noster subditus, vestras literas, cum vestro grato munere, decimo Januarii Haffiniæ datas nobis tradidit. Pro munere quidem et gratias magnas nunc habemus, et easdem, re quidem, quum opportunitas feret, plane sumus relaturæ. Literæ vero vestræ majorem voluptatem an dolorem attulerint, dubium quidem est. Pergratum enim nobis fuit intelligere, quam officioso obsequio, et constanti observantia atque studio, vestra nos colit excellentia. Non minus contra luctuosum nobis fuit audire, de dura illa vestra in Dania tractatione, deque tristi illustrissimi Palatini Belzensis, qui tempore et insperatissimo sibi et alienissimo suis, ex hac vita indigno quidem modo sublatus est. In hoc tam ærumnoso casu, hoc plurimum nos interim recreavit, quod intelligimus vestram excellentiam, illi cognatione propin-

quam, virtute parem, fortunis nunc etiam atque dignitate factam esse æqualem; ut jam non magis opportuna consolandi, quam gratulandi tibi, occasio mihi hoc tempore oblata sit. Scripsimus ad principem CECILIAM, verum in hoc ejus præsenti luctus sensu, et in hoc recenti sponsi desiderio, novarum nuptiarum, disertis verbis, mentionem facere, et ratione, hoc tempore, et pro re ipsa alienum fuisset. Hujusmodi consilium non literis nunc committere, sed quum in Anglia ipsa fuerit, præsenti sermoni conservare, longe opportunius esset. De nobis vero, ita existimate nos in respondendo omnibus gratis vestris officiis, quibuscunque modis commode poterimus, cum omni animi nostri propensione, paratas semper fore. Bene valeat vestra excellentia. 25 Februarii, 1563.

XLIII.—TO THE SENATE OF DANTZIC (4,40).

For the chancellor. Thanks them for their decision in the cause of C. B. an English merchant, and hopes that they will maintain it notwithstanding the appeal made to the King of Poland. March 22.

Ad Senatum Gedanensem.—Pro Domino Cancellario in gratiam C. B.—Magnifici Viri. Et gratias vobis pro vestro favore, et laudem etiam pro vestra æquitate, libenter tribuo, quam in cognoscenda explicandaque caussa C. B. mercatoris Angli adhibuistis. Ea est hujus viri perspecta probitas, ut ego ipse illius caussa valde libenterque velim. Itaque quum intelligerem ejus adversarios tam importunos et turbulentos esse, ut in prudentissimi senatus vestri judicio et æquitate acquiescere non possint, quin a vestra sententia tam rite acta et juste lata, ad auctoritatem regis Poloniæ provocent, scribendum vobis esse duximus et a vobis petendum, id quod, me etiam tacente, libenter facietis,

ut quum illius caussa et vestra sententia in idem discrimen adductæ sunt, utrique patrocinare jam velitis: quod factum vestrum et vobis laudabile huic viro optatum et mihi valde gratum futurum est; quemadmodum facile sentietis, quando idonea aliqua opportunitas aut gratificandi vobis, aut commodandi vestris, mihi oblata fuerit. Valete. XXII Martii.

XLIV.—TO THE PEOPLE OF DANTZIC (4, 56).

Asks them to restore to R. N. a merchant of Hull, his ship and cargo, which had been seized by some of their townsmen last year.

Gedanensibus pro regia majestate. Magnifici domini, viri spectabiles, amici dilecti. Graves ad nos querelæ delatæ sunt de facto certorum hominum Gedanensium, qui hac superiori æstate, navem fidelis et dilecti nostri subditi R. N. civis et mercatoris Hullensis, negotiatum proficiscentem ad ea loca quibuscum nobis et bona pax et firma intercedit amicitia, ac redeuntem nuper ab illa profectione, hostiliter invadentes, vi Gedanum abducunt; ubi, ejectis mercatoribus ac nautis, et ad extremam miseriam compulsis, ipsam navem tanquam piraticam, et omnia bona veluti prædam occupant atque detinent. Atque ut nos ferre non possumus, ut fideles nostri subditi tanta premantur injuria, ita eam de vestra etiam prudentia et æquitate existimationem habemus, ut non solum statuamus inscientibus vobis hoc a vestris fuisse admissum, sed plane expectamus, ut primo quoque tempore ea justitiæ ratio in hac caussa a vobis habenda sit, ut nec vestri impune hoc perpetrasse, nec nostri frustra apud nos conqueri videantur. Itaque rem facietis et nostræ expectationi et vestræ æquitati valde consentaneam: si fidelis noster subditus R. N. navem suam cum bonis universis, hac literarum

nostrarum commendatione, et vestra auctoritate recuperet. Et nos parem æquitatis rationem in vestrorum negotiis, quum usus, et occasio tulerit, libenter ostendemus. Feliciter valeatis.

XLV.—TO THE KING OF POLAND (4, 57).

Asks the king to see that justice is done to William Martin for the wrong done some years before to his father Thomas Martin, according to the judgment formerly given against the people of Dantzic by the king's father.

D. Sigismundo Augusto regi Poloniæ, &c., regia majestas—Pro Gulielmo Martin. Aliquot jam sunt anni, tempore parentum utriusque nostrum, clarissimæ memoriæ principum, quum THOMAS MARTINUS Anglus NICOLAUM B. et BARNARD T. cives Gedanensis, nomine grandis pecuniæ sibi debitæ, Gedani apud Scabinos in jus vocaverit. Sententia, pro æquitate caussæ, lata est secundum nostratem. Gedanenses tamen, domestica sua et potentia et opportunitate freti, ad superiores istic magistratus, consules et senatum Gedanensem, provocant. Res denuo secundum THOMAM MARTINUM dijudicata est. Adversarii, gemina jam sententia domi superati, alienum ab omni æquitatis ratione frustrandæ justitiæ consilium ineunt. Et caussam et hominem in Poloniam usque protrahunt, ad judices istic, qui nominantur terrestres, non bonitate caussæ fisi, nec de injuria sibi a suis domi imposita conquesturi, sed hoc solum consilio, ut homo alienigena, in regione tam dissita, legibus et moribus prorsus illi incognitis, vel longo litis tractu, vel longinqui itineris molestia, vel intolerabili sumptus magnitudine tandem defatigatus, a persequendo suo jure omnino desisteret. Quum tertia jam sententia, secundum nostratem, istic quoque lata esset, Gedanenses illi, ut nullum sibi injuriæ faciendæ locum reliquum facerent, ad regem ipsum Poloniæ provocant, parentem

vestrum clarissimæ memoriæ principem. Sed justitia apud justissimum principem tantum valuit, ut non solum pro nostro sententiam ipse tulerit, sed mandatum quoque suum ad magistratus Gedanenses perscripserit, ut ipsi executionem justitiæ, pro tot latis sententiis, in hac caussa quam primum expediri curarent. Cursus tamen justitiæ tot morarum diverticulis impeditus Gedani fuit, ut THOMAS MARTINUS prius e vita sua discesserit, quam ad jus suum pervenire potuerit. GULIELMUS MARTINUS, THOMÆ filius, parvulus quidem quum pater moriebatur, famulus nunc noster fidelis et perdilectus hæc paterna debita jure et hæreditario et testamentario repetit. Huic famulo nostro, suppliciter sæpe opem imploranti nostram, in caussa tam justa et in re tam manifesta deesse non possumus. Nam, quo tanta res exploratior nobis esset, negotium dedimus certis nostris jurisconsultis, ut illi caussæ hujus rationem ab initio omnem, litis progressum universum, et sententiarum singularum unumquemque exitum, considerata deliberatione cognoscerent: qui rem tam explicatam et apertam ad nos deferunt, ut plane constet nobis, caussam et justam et necessariam, nostrum famulum habere omnem justam sequendi viam, qua jus suum consequi et obtinere queat. Nos itaque admodum rogamus vestram serenitatem, ut dignetur suis literis atque jussu mandare magistratibus Gedanensibus, ut hæc caussa famuli nostri, omni legitimo processu apud eos tam manifesto evicta, sic mature expediatur, ut debita pecunia integre illi persolvatur. Atque si æquitatis cursus, antea nobilissimi patris vestri justissima sententia rite terminata, nunc similiter vestra auctoritate ad justum exitum perducatur, curabimus nos vicissim, ut a vestris itidem subditis in nostris ditionibus, quum par occasio ferat, injuria omnis atque molestia similiter prohibeatur.

XLVI.—TO THE MAGISTRATES OF DANTZIC (4, 58).

Reminds them of the judgments given in favour of William Martin, and requests that they may be executed as soon as possible.

Magistratibus Gedanensibus.—Regia Majestas pro Gulielmo Martin.—Magnifici Domini, amici carissimi. Intelligimus caussam debitæ pecuniæ, ante aliquot annos inter THOMAM MARTINUM Anglum, et NICHOLAUM B. ac BERNARDUM T. cives vestros, in illa vestra urbe fuisse disceptatam. Et quum ea ipsa caussa, et apud vos et in regno itidem Poloniæ, omnibus et legum processubus rite explicata, et adversariorum appellationibus quoad fieri potuit impedita, et cunctis semper judicum sententiis secundum nostratem fuerit dijudicata; executioni tamen juris tot repagula sunt objecta, et frustrandæ justitiæ tot sunt quæsitæ moræ, ut THOMAS MARTINUS e vita prius excesserit, quam ad jus suum pervenire potuerit. GULIELMUS MARTINUS Thomæ filius, parvulus quidem tum, quum pater moriebatur, hæc ipsa paterna debita jure nunc et hæreditario et testamentario repetit. Quumque hic GULIELMUS fidelis noster famulus sæpe nostram gratiam atque opem, ad consequendum jus suum suppliciter imploraverit: nos, ut de caussæ æquitate quid certum et exploratum esset cognosceremus, certis nostris jurisconsultis mandatum dedimus, ut litis progressionem omnem, et sententiarum exitum unumquemque accurate excuterent: qui rem sic ad nos deferunt, ut nos æquitate rei magis quam hominis misericordia commotæ scribendum ad vos esse duceremus et a vobis petendum, ut, quod leges vestræ jusserunt, quod judices omnes quum vestrates tum Poloni consentientibus sententiis statuerunt, id vos jam huic nostro famulo integre expediri, pleneque

confici quam primum curetis. Nos enim vel æquitatis ipsius nomine in caussa tam justa, in re tam aperta, in injuria tam eminenti, famulo nostro deesse non possumus. Malumus tamen, ut hoc modo nostro rogatu atque literis, quam ullis aliis juris remediis, indemnitati nostri famuli prospiceretur. Si igitur vos, æquitatis ipsius respectu, et nostro etiam hortatu, jus suum famulo nostro repræsentari efficiatis, rationem vos, et justitiæ rectam, et nostri quoque gratam, habuisse judicabimus. Quod vestrum officium nos etiam grata memoria retinebimus. Bene valete.

XLVII.—TO FREDERICK, COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE (4, 71).

About a friendly union to be formed between all the Protestant princes who had signed the confession of Augsburg. This letter occurs also in MS. L, p. 93.

Westminster, March 25, 1563.

Pro regia majestate—D. Frederico comiti Palatino Rheni, etc.—Illustrissime princeps, consanguinee, et amice carissime. Intelligimus ex sermone fidelis famuli nostri HENRICI KNOLLES, quam præcipua grati animi propensione vestra Excellentia et nos et statum nostrorum prosequitur. Intelligimus item, quam intenta cogitatione et solicita cura, ad puram Christi religionem tuendam, vestra indies præ ceteris principibus incumbit excellentia. Utriusque hujus vestri, et grati erga nos studii, et pii erga Deum officii, multa quidem et ea valde illustria testimonia in literis quoque vestris decimo Decembris Heidelbergæ ad nos datis, insigniter sunt contestata. Quæ mentis vestræ tam laudata voluntas, a nobis ingentes gratias, apud omnes bonos præcipuam laudem jure promeretur. Quum vero jam ex literis vestris exploratum nobis sit, ves-

tram excellentiam hactenus gravissimis de caussis abstinuisse a communibus scriptis fœderibus, etiam cum his, qui et sanguine et patria et eadem religione vobis essent juncti; et judicavisse semper, liberas minimeque coactas consociationes præsertim in negotio religionis, plus fidei et virium habituras, quam si stricta, et literis potius quam animis consignata, fœderum ratio iniretur, nos certe hoc ipsum vestrum consilium et animi judicium valde comprobamus, et ratione superiorum temporum rite subducta, plane perspicimus, quod, ubi mutuus amor, et studiorum consensus, animos principum non jungit, isthic omnia confœderationum vincula, literarum notis quomodocunque illigata, infelices plerumque exitus sortiuntur. Quanquam pro nostra parte, nostra quidem hæc mens est, nos inprimis nobiscum constituere, nullam omnino, cum ullo principe aut natione, confœderationem sancire velle, ad quam prius ineundam bene considerata animi inductione et perlibenter non adducimur, in quam semel postquam verbo et scripto consenserimus, eandem deinceps, etiam cum nostro explorato incommodo, sancte et inviolabiter tuebimur, et id quidem ad respectum solummodo nostri honoris, cujus, post officium Deo debitum, majorem rationem ducimus, quam illius rei, quæ nobis vel usui vel cordi ullo modo esse possit.

Caussa mittendi nostros legatos ad vestram excellentiam, et alios Confessionis Augustanæ principes, hæc fuit; ut exploraremus, an ulla hujusmodi confœderatio inter vos sancita esset, qualem esse communis fere omnium opinio confirmavit. Sin vero fuisset, habebamus in animo, illam consociationem favore, consilio, atque ope etiam nostra promovere; quum plane constet vobis omnibus, nos ex eo tempore, quo ad rerum gubernacula accessimus, nihil prorsus omisisse, quod

spectaret, vel ad restaurationem doctrinæ CHRISTI in hoc regno nostro, e cujus finibus paulo ante fuit ejecta; vel ad eandem in circumcirca vicinis regionibus fundandam et propagandam; licet ad interturbandum omne illud animi nostri propositum, multa undique objecta nobis essent impedimenta. Et quum intelligigimus hanc esse omnium vestrum consentientem opinionem, nimirum securitatem religionis melius stabiliri et firmius intima conjunctione animorum quam scriptione fœderum; sic, ut mutua subsidia opportune suppeditarentur, pro rerum et temporum ratione, et non compingerentur in argutas illas scripti angustias, quibus summa sæpe rerum in moras rejecta in extremum plerumque discrimen conjicitur: nos sane hæc vestra consilia ita probamus, ut nihil ardentius in optatis habeamus, quam ut animi omnium principum, qui evangelium profitentur, eo amoris sensu perpetuo imbuantur, ut unusquisque pro religionis defensione alterius caussam suam esse ducat. Et quando adversarii, inita vel consiliorum vel armorum suspicione, in professores evangelii vim sint intentaturi, ut tum illud factum, licet loco valde sejunctum, periculo tamen propinquum sibi quisque esse judicet. Nam in caussa religionis, pro explorato haberi debet, adversarium, ubi vim semel struxerit, ante non conquiescere, quam vi vicissim frangatur: vis enim progrediendo vi vires colligit. Quod nos, usu, et discrimine rerum edoctæ, verum esse experimur.

Quanquam, quum vis virium humanarum omnes nervos suos intenderit, ecce, manus Dei tum potissimum paratissima est, ad sublevandum suos; et id quidem maxime, quum spes humani auxilii omnis sublata esse videatur. Propterea nos, memores tam exploratæ consuetudinis benignitatis divinæ erga suos,

gratos nos exhibeamus pro tantis beneficiis, neque unquam vereamur doctrinam illius asserere, contra omnes Satanæ et mundi quoscunque satellites. Hæc ad vestras literas vestraque consilia, de ratione fœderum scripto comprehensorum, prudenter instituta, ad vestram vero tantam, quum humanitatem erga nostros, tum benevolentiam et studium erga nos, non verbis nunc et literarum sermone, sed mutuo semper amore et omni deinceps gratificandi, et vobis et vestris, captata opportunitate, libenter et studiose respondebimus. Deus, etc. XXVI Martii, Westm., 1563.

XLVIII.—TO PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, (L, 85).

Thanks him for his friendship and zeal in the league between protestants.

Domino Philippo Hessiæ lantsgravio, &c.—Illustrissime et excellentissime princeps consanguinee et amice carissime. Compertum habemus et literis antea nostrorum oratorum, et præsenti nuper fusoque sermone alterius eorundem oratorum HENRICI KNOLLES fidelis nostri et perdilecti famuli, quanto studio vestra excellentia nos ac statum nostrum prosequitur; imo, ut ingenue dicamus quod res ipsa loquitur, plane perspicimus vestram benevolentiam erga nos ita seorsum extare et singulari quadam ratione enitere, præ cæteris omnibus Germaniæ principibus, ut ingrati animi notam effugere non possemus, si hunc vestrum tam præcipuum amorem non præcipua etiam prærogativa nostra vicissim erga vestram excellentiam mutuæ voluntatis studiose prosequeremur. Nam quanquam studia multorum etiam aliorum principum tam parata erga nos et exposita esse experimur, quam nos

ipsæ commode possumus requirere, vestræ tamen literæ diligenter a nobis ponderatæ et comparatæ cum literis aliorum principum aliam quandam nobis et singularem amoris abundantiam plane præ se ferunt. Etenim licet reliqui principes et per responsa data nostris oratoribus et per suas literas ad nos etiam scriptas, amice prolixeque studia sua declaraverunt conjungendi sese nobiscum et consilio et re in defensione doctrinæ Christi adversus quoscunque illius adversarios, judicantes interim scriptas omnes confœderationes non tantum momenti aut virium afferre posse ad hanc ipsam causam tuendam, quantum mutui consensum amoris et animorum conjunctiones, vestra tamen excellentia, præterquam quod eandem ipsam sententiam et prudenti consilio et gravi judicio in suis ad nos literis expromit, ex abundantia seorsum erga nos amoris, licet certa invidia et manifesta pericula inde consequuntur, aperte et expresse offert sese ad specialem pactionem nobiscum ineundam, a qua neminem omnium excipit præter sacram Cæsaream majestatem et Romanum imperium, a quo nobis, ut vestra scribit excellentia et nos item sentimus, nihil periculi possit expectari.

Hujus vestræ tam eximiæ benevolentiæ tantam rationem ducimus, ut quanquam illo modo nec invidiam apud alios principes vestram excellentiam contrahere nec tantum oneris nostra causa subire velimus, tamen non possumus non ingentes nostras gratias pro tam officioso et raro erga nos studio et nunc libenter agere et præterea sancte spondere nos deinceps omnes vestras gratas benevolentias tam memori mente ita velle defigere ut vestram excellentiam de tam singulari suo in nos amore nunquam in posterum pœniteat.—Deus, &c.

XLIX.—TO . . . . . (L, 96).

Complains of his ambassador *Episcopus Aquilanus*, and requests that, unless he will mind his own business, he may be recalled. Greenwich, July 20.

Elizabetha &c.—Est res quæ diu jam et sæpe nos offendit, cui quum nullum posse modum adhiberi animadverteremus, tandem de eadem vestram serenitatem certiorem faciendam esse duximus. Judicamus nos mutuam amicitiam, quæ inter nos nostra regna nostrosque subditos intercedit, ita fundatam esse debere ut ea a nemine homine labefactari queat: imo ab utroque nostrum et studium et laborem certatim suscipi, quomodo illa siquidem fieri potest firmior in dies evadat. Et hoc vestram serenitatem sentire ex ipso animi nostri erga vos sensu ipsæ plane percipimus, et præterea ex multis indiciis hoc idem intelligimus, quæ a vestra serenitate nostris istic oratoribus sermone semper sunt declarata, quæque crebris literis, et eorum qui istinc nuper redierunt et ejus qui etiam nunc istic versatur, et fuse et cum fide ad vos sunt relata. Dolemus quidem eam nobis offerri occasionem qua nos in justam adducimur dubitationem, an reverendissimus pater episcopus AQUILANUS orator vester tam nostrum erga vos sincerum studium pari candore declaret. Nam licet non negaverimus quin in eo sit et prudentia et multus usus et magna gravium obeundarum rerum facultas, tamen ab ejus usque huc adventu ita studia illius magnam partem ad res alias agendas sunt comparata quæ minime conveniunt cum persona oratoris, ut non sine justa causa existimemus illum non tam sincerum nostri animi studium ad vestram serenitatem detulisse prout nos semper ei justam occasionem dedimus. Neque solum ipsæ nos hos mores in illo suspi-

catæ sumus, sed multi etiam nostri fideles subditi in dies perspiciunt eum tam intento studio implicare sese illis negotiis, quæ omnino spectant ad turbandam tranquillitatem nostri status ut respectu illius prudentiæ quam in eo valde probamus, recte doleamus eum pro commodo nostri regni non esse hujusmodi hominem qui aptus sit ad gerendam personam vestri apud nos oratoris. Itaque quum diu hanc pertulissemus molestiam, et remedium illius cupide expectantes, quum nullum apparuerit, quumque et nos plane existimaverimus hanc rem vestræ serenitati haud esse cognitam, amplius facere non potuimus, quin vestram serenitatem hac de re redderemus certiorem, ut aut ille vestro monitu ac jussu tandem desinat nimium curiosus esse in nostra republica, atque eas res agat, quæ ad vestram serenitatem vestrosque subditos mere pertinent, aut revocetur ille domum et adhibeatur ad eas gerendas res ubi illius prudentia sine aliorum incommodo melius et pro naturæ suæ ductu aptius exerceatur; atque ut legetur huc alius, qui libentius sese accommodet ad eas obeundas res quæ mutuo ad nos nostrosque subditos pertineant, quique haud secus delaturus sit ad vestram serenitatem de nobis meaque erga vos benevolentia quam res ipsa et amicitiæ nostræ ratio requirat. Nos enim plane intelligimus viam expeditiorem aut certiorem aliam non fuisse, fovendæ mutuæ amicitiæ inter nostros nobilissimæ memoriæ parentes, quam ut utrique haberent eos rerum utrinque gerendarum ministros, qui utriusque principis commodi et honoris studiosi semper essent. Hanc animi nostri licet bene longam, planam tamen et ad amicitiam mutuo fovendam totam comparatam, explicationem non dubitamus quin vestra serenitas eo modo sit ponderatura, quomodo omnes illæ amicitiæ intelligentiæ et confœderationes a priscis nostris majo-

ribus inceptæ, a nobilissimis nostris parentibus et sancte semper cultæ et nobis per eorum manus traditæ, et inter nos etiam duos multis mutuæ et benevolæ necessitudinis vinculis firmissime constitutæ, postulant et requirunt.—Deus, &c., 20 Julii, Grenovici.

L.—METELLUS TO ASCHAM, (5, 36).

Is glad to find that Ascham has kept his post at the English court—speaks of Osorio, and also of the young king Charles of France having been declared of full age before the time. Sep. 8, [1563].

Joannes Metellus Rogero Aschamo S. P.—ARNOLDUS BIRCKOMANUS, vir optimus tuique valde studiosus, mihi retulit, te nondum mei memoriam ex animo posuisse, licet jam tot annis neuter alterum literarum colloquio lacessivit. Hoc tu, crede, mutuo facis. Amo enim præclaras virtutes tuas supra modum, easque dum vixero colam. Quo fit ut sæpe de te quæsierim; quum multi tamen testarentur, te regia excessisse, atque studiorum tuorum caussa privatam vitam agere. Nam et hoc JOANNES DIUS vester affirmavit. Gaudeo igitur te non degere, ut narrabant, in obscuris locis, sed eodem in statu quo apud MARIAM reginam permansisse. Sic enim accidet, ut ad te frequentius ego scribam, id quod ego sane cupio, ni tamen tibi molestum futurum sit, quod ipse minime omnium nolim. De rebus meis nihil est quod moneam; versor enim in trium rerum perdifficili negotio, in quo me, dum ab his tranquillior transigendæ vitæ ratio pendeat, durare oportet. Itaque segnius hanc ob caussam tracto studia, sed spero tandem me extricatum iri hujusmodi retibus. Tu, si quid præ manibus habes præclari, significabis. Non enim vereor, quin totus sis in opere aliquo præclaro, uti es studiosissimus, et eruditissimus OSORIUS

noster huc edendos misit duos de *Cœlesti Justitia* libros. Vellem eum moderatius cum hostibus quos sibi deligit agere, ac potius in philosophicis argumentis quam theologicis, quæ sane sunt invidiosa, versari. Quod ego ad te scribo, ut mitius feras, quum ipse ames, ac summam eloquentiam. Sed ita natura comparatum est, ut quisque nævum habeat. Huc allatum est, crudelissimam pestem in vos sævire, quod ego doleo. Francofordiæ etiam grassatur. CAROLUS Gallorum rex a senatu Parisiensi tutela dicitur emancipatus, fortassis quo denuo constituta subvertantur: pacem tamen observaturus, edictumque fore firmum fertur. Tanta est omnium rerum ubique mutatio, ut nihil jam humana prudentia sed sola divina providentia regi, vel invitis philosophis, fatendum esse videatur. Quare orandus est Deus, ut nostri tandem misertus, omnia ipse componat atque restituat. Vale. VIII Idus Septembris, 1563.

LI.—TO FREDERIC, KING OF DENMARK, (L, 73).

Asks the king of Denmark to release Thomas Valentine, who has been arrested at Copenhagen whilst on his way to Sweden, to transact some business of the queen. The date of this letter is ascertained from Letter LXIV.

[Sep. 24, 1563].

Domino Friderico regi Daniæ, &c.—Elizabetha &c. Serenissimo Domino Frederico &c.—BORRHÆUS et NICOLAUS GOULDINSTER, Suecorum regis his proximis superioribus annis apud nos oratores, quum præsens ut fit illis pecunia ad res suas necessarias hic expediendas nonnunquam deesset, a certis mercatoribus Anglis et fidelibus nostris subditis G. HERVET, LIONELLO DUCKET, RICHARDO SPRINGHAM, GAULFRIDO DUCKETT, et EDWARDO OSBERNE et aliis civibus Londinensibus pecuni-

am mutuati sunt. Hæc pecunia sæpe a nostris repetita a Suecis illis hactenus reddita non est. Quum nostri nihil præter verba et moras ab illis auferunt, ad nos jam deferunt, suppliciter rogitantes ut nos causam eorum Suecorum regi literis nostris significare dignaremur. Nos nostris et ab illis injuste tractatis et a nobis æquum postulantibus deesse non potuimus; et propterea THOMAS VALENTINUS cum nostris literis et nostrorum mercatorum syngraphis in Sueciam superiori anno mittitur, ut hanc causam apud illum regem mercatorum nostrorum nomine agat. Hic nuncius a vestris in vestræ serenitatis regno apud Copenhaven detinetur: nostræ literæ, nostrorum syngraphæ, pecuniæ, nimirum 150 dalers, in itineris sumptum illi datæ, ab eo auferuntur. Quo facto injuria nonnulla nobis, major nostris, nimia molestia eorum rebus, quum propter pecuniarum impensas et dispendium, tum propter negotiorum moram et impedimentum imposita est: quanquam et nos plane existimamus ipsos serenitatis vestræ magistratus in detinendo hoc nuncio illis præsertim belli temporibus officii sui obeundi non molestiæ nostris faciendæ rationem prorsus habuisse. Itaque quum plane jam constiterit quo consilio et quam justa de causa hic nuncius in Sueciam missus fuerit, non dubitamus quin primo quoque tempore vestræ serenitatis jussu et auctoritate ille, restitutis ei integre nostris literis, mercatorum syngraphis, pecuniis et reliquis suis rebus omnibus libere dimittendus sit. Rogamus porro ut vestra dignetur serenitas eidem TH. VALENTINO literas vestras publicæ fidei et salvi conductus concedere, quo ad expediendum hoc negotium in Sueciam eunti redeuntique via tutior ei patefiat. Erit hoc nobis officium pergratum, nostris mercatoribus beneficium valde opportunum. Cui nos ac nostri omni vicissim gratificandi et commodandi

ratione et plene et libenter respondebimus. Deus vestram serenitatem in omni florenti felicitate diutissime conservet incolumem.

LII.—STURM TO SIR A. COOK (5, 42).

Recommends Albert to his notice, and says they have heard that Rouen has been taken. Frankfort, Nov. 12. This letter and the next two seem to belong to 1562, but in the second of them the date is given 1563. Rouen was taken in Oct. 1562.

Joannes Sturmius Domino Antonio Cooko, S. P.— Vir clarissime, et patrone observande. Prope aberat ut ipse isthuc venerim, nisi cum Nivernensi, hoc est POSSANO legato Gallico Condiano, cras necessariis de caussis redeundum esset Argentinam, sic enim flagitant hæc tempora. Dominum ALBERTUM tibi commendo quum ipsius caussa, et propter ejus virtutes, tum propter caussam communem, quæ certe laborat, et quidem periculosissime. Commendo tibi caussam, sed etiam virum a quo ad vos est missus; quo nullum possitis invenire magis idoneum ad hanc rationem, quæ profecto pernecessaria est. Utinam istud vestrum negotium succedat ita ut in Scotia. Præclara fama illius facti et perpetua; sed hæc et immortalis, et plane divina, verum perfecta et consummata gloria, si quod volumus assequamur. Sed vides inopiam pecuniarum, auxiliorum, et quæ nunc nunciantur, Rotomagum expugnatam; desiderari ex vestris mille, qui ad Rotomagum occubuerunt; Durassianam copiam Aquitanorum cæsam esse a MONLUCANO; ANDELOTTUM non posse pervenire ad castra Condiana. Speramus falsa, metuimus tamen, non dubito quin vos certiora habetis quam nos. Ut ut sit, et ut ut sese res habeant, imo quo pejora loco sunt, eo magis elaborandum est, et resistendum, idque primo quoque tempore et celerri-

me, et confirmandus CONDIANUS ne animo deficiat, id quod vos quotidianis vestris consiliis atque auxiliis facere poteritis.

Spero atque confido, ita te adfuturum domino ALBERTO, ut mihi gratias acturus sit, propter tuam prudentiam, consilium, operam, et opem apud Reginam, et CECILLUM generum. De negotio illo, de quo nihil vere superiore mense, opinor Martio, aliquid scripsi domino CECILLO, tuæ literæ effecerunt ut probare prius velim rem, quam plus confirmare. Hæc tempora Gallicana faciunt, ut de nostro dissidio, quod a MARBACHIO concitatum est, nihil possim scribere: tamen consenesco propter fastidium et injuriam: prope ubique esse malim quam ibi, ubi annos per multos fui libenter. Redeo ad caussam ALBERTI: oro et obsecro, ut tibi curæ sit. Vale, vir ornatissime, nobilissime, et patrone observande. Francofurti, XII Novembris.

LIII.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 16).

Consents to be godfather to Sturm Ascham, and promises to send him a likeness of himself, that, in case of his death, the child may know what he was like: speaks of Albert, of the bad news from France, &c. Frank., Nov. 13, 1563.

Joannes Sturmius Rogero Aschamo, S. P.—Non possum tibi in hoc tempore respondere ad gratissimas tuas literas. Hoc solum; ego STURMII ASCHAMI propater esse volo, et ille mihi profilius non futurus est sed est. Mittam ei imaginem meam; ut, si moriar antequam me videat, post me aliquid mei videat. Caussa me cogit, ob quam isthuc dominus ALBERTUS venit, literas hasce tuas in hoc tempore deserere; quæ vero ea sit, ex ipso cognosces. Oro te per amicitiam nostram, per hæc tempora, per communia pericula:

move saxum isthuc, et promove, et permove, ne SISYPHI simus in hisce quotidianis consiliis auxiliorum; sine quibus periit Gallia, Anglia, Germania: non sentit, qui istud non sapit. Homo a quo isthuc mittitur, optari non possit melior, neque magis idoneus. Gratias ago UTENHOVIO, qui occasionem dederit; quam vellem horam tecum esse, vel ob hanc solam caussam. Legatos vestros nondum conveni; heri invitarunt ad prandium; sed plane non vacabat, conveniam hodie. Scripsi hæc bene mane, hora tertia. Tales enim habemus nuncios de rebus Gallicis, ut quiescere me et somnum capere omnino non sinant. Speramus falsa, ant non esse ejusmodi, quæ nuntiantur de Rotomago, de Durassio, et de vestris, atque etiam de ANDELOTTO. Si vera sint, elaborandum est, ut malos eventus bonis rationibus resarciamus, inter quas nulla commodior, quam ista quæ nobis divinitus oblata est. Vigila quæso et prius non quiescas quam eo perveniamus ubi conquiescendum est. Adeste consilio vos Albani patres; video enim non unum ÆNEAM, neque unam navem, sed multos mortales profugos, nisi vestra Alba atram istam tempestatem depellat. Vale, mi ASCHAME. Francofurti, XIII mensis Novembris, anno Dom. 1563.

LIV.—STURM TO SIR J. HALES (5, 43).

Speaks of Albert with much commendation, and laments the bad state of things in France. Frankfort, Nov. 13 [1563].

Joannes Sturmius Joanni Halesio. — Cujus rei caussa Dominus ALBERTUS isthuc venit, tametsi sciam eam tibi curæ fore, tamen ita mihi curæ est, ut hanc curam deponere possem, neque commendem tibi et aliis isthic heroibus. Valde consternati sumus nunciis Gallicanis; solum consolantur quod ab inimicis veniunt, atque idcirco falsos speramus. Is qui misit dominum

ALBERTUM, aliquid plus habet laudis quam illa antiqua fuit: bonus miles, bonus colonus, optimus vir est, fortissimus dux est; debetis optime et amplissime sperare de illius fide, industria, usu, scientia. Caussam non opus est ut commendem verbis pluribus. Gallia absque vestro auxilio nullum videtur habere subsidium, ni Deus adsit. Sed aderit Deus Galliæ: aderit etiam vobis, quoniam vos vobis non defuturi estis: salutem autem vestram negligetis, si Galliæ salutem negligatis, quæ absque vobis salva esse non poterit. Nos tertio certe perimus proximi, et tamen quotidie deliberamus: nunquam quicquam facimus; perdit nos otium, voluptas, discordia, fastus. Quo nostra ignavia major est, eo præclarior vestra est gloria, quæ Scotico bello fundamenta jecit, hoc Condiano egregias habitura est atque magnificas superstructiones. Redeo ad rem: ALBERTUM theologum optimum, comitem virum fortissimum, caussam ipsam necessario isto tempore pernecessariam, ita tibi commendo, ut vestram, ut communem, ut universorum, ut omnium et singulorum, ut tuam nostramque, ut amicorum nostrorum, ut patriæ, ut Dei et JESU CHRISTI. Vale vir clarissime. Francofurti, XIII Novembris.

LV.—RAMUS TO ASCHAM (5, 24).

Salutes Ascham, sends his letter by Matthew Scyne—about MSS. of Archimedes, Pappus, &c. Paris, Feb. 25, 1564.

Rogero Aschamo, serenissimæ Britannorum reginæ secretario, Petrus Ramus.—Quum salutem nobis tuo nomine dixisset nobilis quidam Britannus, qui in aula nostri regis forte nobis occurrisset, rogavi quisnam in Britannia nostri tam studiosus esset, ut etiam trans Oceanum Lutetiam usque hoc animi benevoli signum perlatum curasset: tumque de tua virtute atque eru-

ditione multa jucunde ac libenter accepi, quæ me desiderio sic incenderunt, ut prima quaque occasione salutis gratiam referendam putarem, juberemque hominem nostri cupidum et amantem pro mutuo amore valere plurimum, ac reciperem, si quid in otio Musæ nostræ tua caussa possent, nullum a nobis tibi benevolentiæ studium vel officium defuturum. En vero quum e comitatu THOMÆ SMITHI, serenissimæ reginæ apud regem nostrum præstantissimi legati, MATTHÆUS SCYNUS ad vos reverteretur, tempus arripui amoris erga te mei declarandi, id est, tui interpellandi. Sic enim te amari a nobis colique tibi persuadeas velim, si abs te liberaliter et ingenue petam, quod te non gravate præstiturum confido. Primum igitur est, ut MATTHÆUS hic vester, tametsi et morum suavitas in homine, et literaturæ gratia per sese tibi gratissima sit futura, nostro tamen nomine tibi sit ita commendatus, ut qui de meliore nota commendari solent. Alterum est de libro ARCHIMEDIS *περὶ ἰσομέτρων*, quem audivi penes quendam eruditum vestræ aulæ medicum esse : si facultas ulla sit describendi, habeo rariora quædam in hoc genere, et PAPPI et APOLLONII et SERENI, quæ perlubenter vicissim cum eo communicabo. Itaque, si beneficium hoc in mathematicis rebus, quibus me dedere incepi, abs te impetravero, magno animi tui fructu cumulatum me sentiam. Vale. Lutetiæ, Calend. Martii VI, 1564.

LVI.—TO THE SENATE OF HAMBURG (L, 82).

Written in the name of the Governors and Company of London merchants about some trading matters.

London, April 30, 1564.

Consulibus et senatoribus civitatis Hamburgi. Traditæ nobis sunt literæ vestræ 18° Martii datæ, et quum

in hac temporum difficultate nobis imprimis cogitandum sit de habenda rerum nostrarum ratione, ut vos prudenter consulitis et amice commonefacitis, (pro quo vestro erga nos benevolo studio et grato officio gratias ut par est, magnas vobis agimus); propterea statutum et deliberatum nobis est communicationem instituere cum vestris prudentiis aut cum idoneo vestrorum numero, certo tempore et loco, prout utrique parti commodissimum esse consentientibus utrinque judiciis visum fuerit. Ratio immunitatum et libertatum nostris istic negotiantibus a vobis proposita et oblata, pergrata nobis est et valde accepta.

Quod attinet vero ad vestram postulationem, ut præsentem navigationem nostram ad Albim fluvium instituamus et pannos nostros ac alias merces in portum vestræ civitatis trajiciamus, hoc certum et persuasum vestris prudentiis esse cupimus, quod ante quam literæ vestræ ad nos pervenerint, plane constitutum nobis fuit Emdam hoc tempore proficisci, sic, ut non sine aliqua infamiæ nota hanc profectionem poterimus prætermittere. Verum enimvero primo quóque tempore post nostrum istuc adventum, plane statuimus, si vos in vestra permanseritis sententia, post maturam communicationem habitam, de illis conditionum articulis, qui necessarii futuri sunt ad negotiationem tanti momenti rite constituendam, tam amicabili ratione progredi in hac causa ut nullum humanitatis officium pro nostra quidem parte requiri potuerit, quod non libenter adhibebimus, vel ad continuandum omnem veterem inter nos intercursum, vel ad libenter inchoandam et feliciter perficiendem hanc novum et exoptatam negociationem et firmam utrobique amicitiam. Id quod uti plane speramus, utrique nationi faustum commodum, felix fortunatum, perpetuo futurum sit.

Deus vestris magnificentiis omnem lætam et longam felicitatem ductissime conservet. Londini, 30 Aprilis, 1564. Magnificentiæ vestræ studiossimi, Gubernatores et Societas Negotiatorum Londinensium.

LVII.—TO COSMO, DUKE OF FLORENCE (L, 76).

For the queen. Asks the favour of the duke for GUIDO CAVALCANTI, who is returning to his own country; and reminds the duke of an old debt, about which he can treat with the same G. C. Richmond, May 27, 1564.

Domino Cosmo Florentiæ duci, etc.—Illustrissime et excellentissime P. Qui has nostras perfert, GUIDO CAVALCANTI Florentinus, quum esset parvulus, uti accepimus, et vix jam decennis, patrem suum in Angliam est sequutus. Ex eo tempore nobilissimæ memoriæ regibus HENRICO et EDWARDO, patri fratrique nostris clarissimis, et nobis etiam ipsis præclaram operam navavit: et quum adhibitus sæpe fuerit ad multas magnarum rerum et gravis momenti procurationes, in illis obeundis omnibus eam voluntatem, curam, fidem et prudentiam, semper ostendit, ut is nobis omnibus commendabilis propter virtutes, carus propter observantiam, et gratus etiam propter usum merito quidem extiterit. Quum is jam magno, ut par est, patriæ visendæ desiderio teneatur, illum ad sua redeuntem bona nostra gratia dimittere, præcipuo favore prosequi et literarum nostrarum testimonio commendare, pro nostro in illum studio et ejus in nos obsequio, æquum esse duximus. Confidimus igitur hunc GUIDONEM CAVALCANTI et propter nostram commendationem in præsenti valde gratum et propter suam probitatem deinceps vestræ excellentiæ multo acceptiorem fore.

De pecunia illa tamdiu jam nostro ærario debita, licet persuasum habeamus certam jam rationem a vestra

excellentia institutam esse, ut illa præsens recte persolvatur, tamen ad expediendum eam ipsam rem, negotium dedimus GUIDONI CAVALCANTI, ut is etiam agat cum vestra excellentia qui propter suam in utrumque nostrum observentiam libenter in ea re suum studium, diligentiam et fidem est collocaturus. Quo animo prætexta atque voluntate nos sumus tuendi conservandique omnia mutuæ amicitiæ officia, que inter nos ac nostros firmiter intercesserunt, hic etiam GUIDO CAVALCANTI nostro nomine plene est explicaturus. Cui ut fidem adhibeat vestra excellentia admodum postulamus. Deus, &c. Richmondæ, 27 Maii, 1564.

LVIII.—HADDON TO [ASCHAM?] (5, 54).

Tells him that his old colleague has been reconciled with the queen, and speaks of the intemperate language of his sermon preached before her. The queen will start on the 20th of this month by way of Stamford. July 12, 1564.

Vetus collega tuus et familiaris, vir consideratissimus, recens est cum regina colloquutus; et quemadmodum spero plenissime reconciliatus. Coram regina concionem habuit plane militarem, in qua tantum ex omni parte fuit offensionis, quantum nec ego libenter commemorare possum, nec tibi jucundum erit ad audiendum. Plus moderationis requirit reginæ præsentia, venerationis aliquid amplius et verecundiæ. Nunquam in illo loco quisquam minus satisfecit, quod majorem ex eo dolorem omnibus attulit, quoniam admodum est illis artibus instructus, quas illius theatri celebritas postulat. Sed nescio quomodo fastus optimorum ingeniorum fere pestis est, nisi meditatione rerum cœlestium condocefiat. Nisi mansuetiores spiritus posthac concionatores ad aulam attulerint,

metuo ne multum ex eorum temeritate damni religio sit acceptura. De peregrinatione regali dies est indictus ad vigesimum hujus mensis; et itineris descriptio Stamfordiam versus est: sed est adhuc certi nihil. Regina prandet hodie cum Domino SACKVILLO. Nihil est aliud novi. Deus te servet tuaque omnia. Pridie nonas Julii 1564. Tuus beneficiarius et benevolentissimus, GUALTERUS HADDON.

LIX.—TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER (W, 281).

Is sorry he cannot go with the queen on her progress, as his wife expects to be brought to bed,—asks the earl to be godfather to his child. London, Aug. 5, 1564.

Most noble and my best lord. The queen being last at Westminster, I was every day in the privy chamber, and every day in your lordship's chamber, but the throng of your lordship's business and the thrust of importunate suitors kept me from speaking with your lordship, which I much desired, because the matter was mine own, not yours, nor the state's. Of nature I durst not, and by reason I would not, be over-bold in pressing over-far, although your wonted courtesy to all, and singular good will privately towards me might have been sufficient warrant for me in that behalf. My purpose was to complain on a grief the sore whereof your lordship might and may only remedy. Mine ill luck is great at this present: I was never so desirous as now to wait on a progress, and specially to Cambridge, to have done there to her majesty and you such service as lay in me. But the present and certain looking for the uncertain time of my wife's delivery doth keep me necessarily at home,

for just causes as your lordship by good nature and true judgment will allow in me; even so would God I might see that blessed day when you by experience should feel the same in yourself. One piece of my suit was, therefore, to desire your lordship to crave pardon for mine absence in this progress, which I pray you heartily do.

A second grief is equal with the first, save that it may have some better remedy: your lordship of your great courtesy and good will towards me offered of yourself to be my gossip, which was to me and my wife a singular comfort: this your far absence is herein a stop to our great grief, and yet if it might please your goodness by a word or two in a letter to Sir William Pickering, which I might deliver him, to desire him to be your lordship's deputy in that behalf, I think he would willingly do it, and for this cause I have sent my man to the court with this letter to your lordship to know your good pleasure herein. I have, moreover, to talk or write a large matter to your lordship, which I can neither utter in so small leisure, nor yet comprehend in compass of a letter. Your present being at Cambridge is a good occasion to me to write, and will be also a just cause to you to think somewhat of the same. Your lordship doth very well remember my poor advice (which proceeded both of good will and also of right judgment) to have had your lordship increase your knowledge in the Latin tongue for the use of understanding writing and speaking. I know it was both fit for your calling and apt for your nature; for your calling, because that only tongues (though but meanly had) should have been a general instrument to have dealt with people of all nations: for your nature, because you be given of yourself to a

sensible reason, to a sensible utterance both with tongue and pen. And yet it is more your commodity than your commendation, my lord, to have these gifts so as you have them without labour taken for them; for if labour in you had answered the benefits of nature given unto you, what you would have comed to I can well guess, whose ability in inditing is already such for the pithy plainness and orderly sensibleness of it, as it is a gift more rather of itself, more praiseworthy indeed, more profitable for use, than if you had upon your finger-ends all the geometry that is in all the book of EUCLID. The quindrinalls be sciences good for respect, not best in degree, common, not most excellent; I say common not only to men but also to some beasts, yea, and some wise men write, and that by some reason, that for the use and practice of the quadrinalls some beasts excel all men; as in music, for fine and sweet delivery; in geometry, spiders and bees, for the true proportion and subtile dimensions; in astronomy, in foresight of ill conjunctions and hurtful aspects, and in avoiding the sudden dangers, and times of weathers, both beasts and fishes to have surer foreknowledge than men; for physic also, ways to keep health, and remedies to cure sicknesses, be more orderly kept and more skilfully foreseen than commonly they be among men. But that learning which furnisheth the mind with judgment, the tongue with utterance, is not parted from man to any other living thing, except only to God himself, and yet is not granted to all men, but to the fewest, and such as be more than men among men. I say this, my lord, because I think you did yourself injury in changing TULLY'S wisdom with EUCLID'S pricks and lines; the one doctrine is better of itself, apter for your nature, fitter for your place than the

other. When I see the ability of inditing that is in you naturally, I lament for good will, and could chide if I had authority, that by your own fault you do not exercise and exceed yourself by labour wherein you exceed almost all other by nature. And here, my lord, I pray you of pardon, both that I may find a fault in you without note of offence, and also to say the truth of you without suspicion of flattery, for where I may not say both I will not only say neither, but also nothing at all unto you. I trust you being at Cambridge, and hearing comedies, tragedies, and disputations there, will move you both to think as I do, and also to forethink that you have not done as I would have had you to do. And to end, surely I had rather write and speak either English, as Mr CECIL doth, or Latin, as Mr HADDON doth, or both, as our most noble mistress doth, than be a pretender to them and ignorant; but to trouble your lordship no more, nor tarry my man no longer, I end indeed, praying your lordship still to do as you are wont to do, that is, to do good to all, and saying all, I mean also as you may those that stand in most need. CHRIST send you all health and heart's desire. Your lordship's most bounden to serve you, R. ASKAM. 5 August, 1564.

To the Right Hon'ble Robert, Lord Dudley, Baron of Denbigh, Earl of Leicester, &c.

LX.—TO LORD . . . . . (4,69).

For Henry Fallofeld. Asks the release of his ship, which had been unjustly detained. Says the ship was in dock six months after January, 1563, and had left England only this last summer, from which it was clear that she could not have been then acting a pirate near Lisbon, as alleged by those who had seized her. January 27, 1565.

Illustriss. dom. N. Pro Hen. Fallofeld. Clarissime

domine. Quum probe intelligo ex frequenti bonorum hominum sermone, qua æquitate semper vestra excellentia cognoscit omnes justas caussas, et quanta humanitate sæpe allevat multos afflictos Anglos; plane confido, me, in mea et justissima caussa et miserrima fortuna, præsens et præsidium in vestra æquitate et solamen in vestra humanitate hoc tempore reperturum.

Superiori æstate navem de more misi negotiatum in Hispaniam. Tempestatis vi et salis jactatione compulsa ad oram Castri appellit; per magistratus ac cives de Bilbo et Castro capitur pro prædatoria; excutitur præfectus; cum aliquot nautis rapitur in custodiam; diripiuntur bona; auferuntur armamenta; et facta in ipsos per magistratus isthic severa inquisitione, quum nullius maleficii convinci potuerant, liberi ad navem iterum dimittuntur. Quum nihil agere poterant ista æquitatis via, ecce subito suboriuntur certi testes, qui affirmant hanc meam navem anno 1563, mense Januario, non procul ab Ulyssipona piraticam exercuisse: et se ipsos ab hac mea nave tum temporis isthic spoliatos fuisse, quum contra exploratissimum sit, hanc ipsam navem, eo ipso tempore, et sex menses ante et post, sine omnibus, et armamentis, et apparatu, in Anglia, in navali de Portesmouth, sui reficiendæ gratia jacuisse. Et quod hoc verissimum sit, publicum instrumentum sigillis multorum hominum oppidi de Portesmouth consignatum, in præsentia ostendendum vestræ excellentiæ habeo. Itaque, supplex venio ad vestræ excellentiæ bonitatem, tam propositam sua natura ad benigne faciendum omnibus calamitosis hominibus, summopere rogans, ut dignetur, literis suis, hanc justam caussam meam magistratibus de Bilbo et Castro commendare, nimirum, ut navis mea cum præfecto, nautis, et bonis universis, libere et integre dimittatur, una cum hujus-

modi damnorum compensatione, quam æquitas et justitia requirit. Hoc factum vestræ bonitatis, ut commodum et optatum mihi, sic prædicabile apud omnes bonos, et Deo ipsi, uti spero, gratum officium est futurum. Deus vestræ excellentiæ omnem longam et lætam felicitatem concedat. XXVII Januarii, 1565. Pro vestra excellentia perpetuam incolumitatem precaturus HEN. FALLOFELDE, merc. Lond.

LXI.—TO ALL KINGS, PRINCES, ETC. (4, 70).

For queen Elizabeth, recommending to their protection William G . . . ., an English nobleman, going to fight against the Turks. Palace, London, Feb. 10, 1565.

In gratiam Gul. G.—Elizabetha Dei gratia, &c. Universis ac singulis regibus, principibus, ecclesiasticis et secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, nobilibus, provinciarum, terrarum, civitatum, oppidorum, villarum, et quorumvis aliorum locorum præfectis, gubernatoribus, rectoribus, et locum eorum tenentibus; nec non admiraldis maris; portuum, passuum, et pontium custodibus; et aliis universis ac singulis hominibus, cujuscunque loci, status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis existant, ad quos hæ nostræ præsentes literæ perventuræ sint, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis affectum.—Serenissimi, illustrissimi, excellentissimi, religiosissimi, reverendi, illustres, magnifici, generosi, spectabiles, egregii, fratres, consanguinei, amici, ac nobis sincere dilecti. Quum in hac domestica tranquillitate, et communi pace, quam Dei benignitate, nos hoc tempore, cum omnibus vicinis circumcirca principibus firmissimam habemus, GUL. G. nobilis Anglus, fidelis noster et perdilectus famulus, otii quasi domestici pertæsus, externam adire militiam instituat; potissimum vero ubicunque gentium, terra

maxime, contra Turcam communem Christiani nominis hostem res gerenda sit: nos hanc ejus laudabilem voluntatem et nobile institutum non solum valde probamus, sed ex mera gratia, et singulari favore nostro, multis justis de caussis, eundem proficiscentem præcipua nostra commendatione prosequendum esse duximus. Est enim nobili domo oriundus, et nobis ipsis quidem clarissimæ Havardinæ Northfolciensis familiæ ratione propinquus; quo nomine nobis etiam seorsim valde carus existit. Præterea, ab ipsa natura ad bellum factus, a parvulis militari et disciplina et usu apprime institutus: atque multis variis bellis, sub nobilissimæ memoriæ patre, fratre nostro, atque sorore, serenissimis Angliæ regibus, et sub nostro item imperio, operam semper fidelissimi subditi, industriam strenui militis, et prudentiam sæpe terra marique solertis capitanei, ad reipublicæ commodum, ad suam non vulgarem laudem et commendationem declaravit. Itaque nos admodum cupientes, ut hæc ejus profectio, quaquaversus eundo redeundoque, non solum illi tuta, et expedita ubique pateat, sed illustris etiam et honorifica, apud omnes existat, libenter ac studiose serenitates, excellentias, humanitates vestras omnes hortamur, ut illum, una cum suis familiaribus, quum ad loca quæcunque vestræ ditionis pervenerint, humaniter accipiatis, benigneque tractetis. Sic, ut is cum suis comitibus, equis, armis, clitellis, rebus ac bonis universis, per vestra regna, dominia, ditiones, provincias, ac jurisdictiones, non solum tuto sine offensione, et libere sine impedimento, sed benigne etiam cum omni humanitate, adire, transire, morari atque redire semper queat. Quam vestram humanitatem nos vicissim, quum similis usus ullorum vestrorum qui vobis sunt carissimi par nostrum studium requirat, libenti et memori animo

compensabimus. In cujus rei testimonium has nostras patentes literas fieri fecimus, propriaque nostra manu subscripta, ac proprio nostro sigillo impresso jussimus communiri. Datum in regia nostra Londini, X Februarii 1565, regnorum vero nostrorum VIII.

LXII.—TO GONSALVO PERIZ (4, 53).

For Sir Willlam Cecil. To recommend the bearer who is going as ambassador to the Court of Spain.

Palace, Greenwich, Feb. 20, 1565.

Clarissimo viro D. Gonsalvo Perisio, serenissimi regis catholici secretario primario et consiliario intimo, amico meo carissimo.—Pro D. Gulielmo Cecilio.—Clarissime vir. Frequens tua memoria mei, et testificatio tui singularis in me studii, quæ sæpe quidem, et peramice semper repetita est in illis litteris quas ipse scribis ad serenissimi regis catholici assiduum hic oratorem, admodum grata mihi existit. Hanc tuam nostræ inter nos notitiæ fovendæ voluntatem, et ipse vicissim alere, et deinceps etiam augere studebo. Quod facturus sum, et juste et libenter, juste quidem, quod id plane jure tibi reddo, quod merito tuo tibi ipse debeo, animum nimirum et voluntatem in te amando mutuam, libenter vero, quod nullius rei fructu plus delector quam eo, qui ex cultu amicitiæ recte institutæ percipitur. Te igitur talem et tantum virum ipse quidem ingratus si non redamarem, et inhumanus si non colerem, merito censendus essem. Et quum tu ita vis, volo ego etiam porro, ut deinceps inter nos, non solum gratæ benevolentiæ aperta indicia, sed mutuæ amicitiæ explorata officia, prout utrobique feret opportunitas, crebra commeent, et ingenue intercedant. Et vide quantum ipse primum mihi largior de tuo in me amore: qui

quum fuerim hactenus in benevolentiæ studio ostendendo posterior, nunc in amicitiæ deposcendo officio factus sum prior. Rogo enim ut mea caussa sis amicus huic amico meo, qui has perfert, quique oratoris assidui munere, pro nobilissima nostra principe, apud serenissimum regem catholicum functurus est. Facturus es, et amanter si meo rogatu hoc facis, et recte si ejus merito hoc tribuis. Est enim ipse tui per se, non solum meo sermone, sed sua etiam sponte, perstudiosus: ut taceam prudentiæ, gravitatis, eruditionis et commoderationis in omni re justam commendationem: adeo ut plane existimem illum ad omnia illa, quæ nunc sunt inter nostros principes arctissima confœderationis, intelligentiæ et amicitiæ vincula indies magis ac magis firmanda fore peridoneum. E regione, ipse pro mea vicissim parte, sincere et sancte polliceor, si quid fuerit in mea potestate, quod esse queat vel gratum tibi, vel commodum tuis, te illud sic a me impetraturum, ut facile intelligas, me non velle pati, ut in ulla officiosæ humanitatis ac benevolentiæ parte, ipse me aliquando sis superaturus. Felicissime valeas. Ex regia principis nostræ Grenovici, XX Februarii, 1565.

LXIII.—TO ERIC, KING OF SWEDEN, (4, 65, and L, 69).

For the queen. About some money lent by certain London merchants, some years ago, to his ambassador, Nicholas Goldenster. March 14, 1565.

Serenissimo principi Erico Suecorum regi Elizabetha, &c.—Multæ jam graves querelæ ad nos sunt delatæ, et crebræ etiam literæ ad vestram Serenitatem sunt scriptæ, de ea pecunia, quam certi mercatores Londinenses, viri spectatæ probitatis et fideles nostri subditi, vestra caussa, et vestro etiam nomine, atque

id ad vestræ Serenitatis usum, ante aliquot jam annos, domino NICOLAO GOLDENSTER, vestro apud nos oratori, in tempore ejus pernecessario mutuam libenter dederunt. Hæc pecuniæ commodatio, contestata syngraphis, communita sigillis, multis etiam testibus, quum nostratibus, tum exteris, præsertim apud Belgas, passim in vulgus innotescit. Nos plane persuasum habemus, hanc caussam aut non recte aut non omnino apud vestram Serenitatem esse declaratam: aliter enim, res tam justa et explicata, tam diu, tot temporum difficultatibus, et morarum diverticulis intricata apud justissimum principem non fuisset. Si qui vero sunt, qui hic negotium istic impediunt, illi certe et vim nostris et infamiam sibi, et injuriam etiam vestræ serenitatis nomini atque honori, nimis audacter imponunt. Nec solum æquitatis palam egrediuntur fines, sed extra omnem etiam humanitatis modum, nimis insolenter prodeunt. Ratio enim vult, postulat æquitas, et humanitas etiam meretur nostrorum mercatorum; ut ipsi commodum, non detrimentum, gratiam, non injuriam, ab hoc eorum tam officiosa pecuniæ commodatione; tum quidem vestris non solum hominibus, verum etiam rebus pernecessariam, tandem quidem recipiant.

Rogamus igitur vestram serenitatem, ut hujus caussæ eam curam suscipiat: ut posthæc, hujus negotii nomine, nec nostrorum tam justis querelis, nec nostris tot crebris literis, nec orbis tam divulgatis sermonibus, locus amplius relinquatur. Sic enim et ipsi æquitati et vestro honori et nostræ expectationi, et bonorum etiam hominum de vestra bonitate communi voci atque judicio, et nostræ etiam expectationi serenitas vestra optime quidem consulet, et plene satisfaciet. Hoc modo etiam nostri mercatores, se cum suis fortunis, ad omnia grata officia vestræ serenitati præstanda, quavis

deinceps oblata opportunitate, paratissimos semper ostendent. Et nos similiter, in vestrorum subditorum causis, parem quum æquitatis, tum postulationis vestræ vestrarumque literarum rationem libenter sumus habituri. Deus, &c. Grenvici, 14° Martii, 1565°.

LXIV.—TO FREDERIC, KING OF DENMARK, (L, 70).

Asks of the king of Denmark free passage to and fro for her messenger, J. Keyl, in the matter of the money lent to N. Goldenster, spoken of in the last letter. March 14, 1565.

Elizabetha, &c., Regi Daniæ.—Annus jam est et plus eo, quum literis nostris 24° Sept. datis vestræ serenitati declaravimus, quomodo certi mercatores Londinenses viri spectatæ probitatis et fideles nostri subditi nimis inhumaniter tractantur a NICOLAO GOLDENSTER, Suecorum regis superioribus annis apud nos oratore, atque id pro ipsorum officiosa benevolentia in commodando illi ad res suas necessarias expediendas satis amplam pecuniæ summam, sæpe quidem et multis modis a nostris repetitam sed minime illis hactenus restitutam. Nam Suecus ille pro pecunia commodata dat verba et quærit moras. Nostri itaque eo adiguntur ut, quum ratio humanitatis parum illis proficiat, jus eorum juris nunc patrocinio persequi compellantur. Et quum nos intelligeremus ex crebris et illis quidem semper justis nostrorum querelis, pos nostros mercatores pro humanitate in commodanda sua pecunia non re sed verbis, non debita gratia, sed immerita injuria compensari, ad regem ipsum Suecorum scribendum hoc tempore esse duximus, petentes ab eo ut ipse curet ac videat ut nostris mercatoribus non spe semper et suavi pollicitationi, sed re tandem et præsenti solu-

tione, primo quoque tempore suo jussu recte et plene satisfiat.

Itaque petimus ut huic JOANNI KEYL fideli nostro subdito, qui has nostras perfert, quique hanc nostrorum mercatorum causam in Suecia sit procuraturus, facultatem concedat vestra serenitas eundi redeundique libere ac tute per vestra maria, freta, portus, dominia et jurisdictiones omnes, atque, si opus erit, ut literas vestras salvi conductus et publicæ fidei illi concedere dignetur. Et omnem benignam gratiam, quam vestra serenitas nostro rogatu nostroque nomine huic nuncio ostenderit, pari quidem et mutuo humanitatis officio, quum vestrorum subditorum negotia id postulent, libenter compensabimus. Deus, &c. Grenovii, xiv° Martii, 1565°.

LXV.—TO EARL . . . . . (4, 66).

For George White. Asks his favour and protection against a wrong threatened him by N. Kempe.

Illustrissimo et nobilissimo Domino Comiti N.—pro Georgio White.—Illustrissime et nobilissime domine. Quanta observantia amita mea domina CLARENEUX, sanctæ memoriæ femina, vestram excellentiam, et qua benevolentia illam Excellentia vicissim vestra prosequuta est, in Hispania multi, in Anglia plurimi probe cognoscunt. Hæc mutua vestra, eaque spectata multis, quum illius observantiæ tam grata aliquando officia, tum vestræ benignitatis tam propensa semper studia; spem mihi nunc certam faciunt, id quod sententia quoque ac judicio hic omnium, qui utrumque vestrum norunt, mihi plane confirmatur; vestram excellentiam libenter velle, aliquam partem illius propinquioris benevolentiæ, mihi etiam ejus propinquo, proximoque

hæredi, tanquam hæreditariam impartire. Et sic sunt res meæ, ut tempore jam meo pernecessario et in caussa per se justissima, opus plane habeam tui non solum ope favoris, gratiæ, atque bonitatis, sed præsidio etiam æquitatis, atque auctoritatis, ad frangendam injuriam, quam N. KEMPIUS homo Anglus, amitæ defunctæ ingratus, mihi superstiti iniquus, contra omnes et communis æquitatis, et domesticæ amicitiæ leges intentare conatur. Universam caussam, et singulas illius circumstantias, in has literas, ne sim molestus, includere nolui : eas omnes, articulatim in certa capita, in separato scripto cum his literis conjuncto, fusius explicatas distribui : unde, opportunius et plenius rationem omnem, et statum illius negotii, vestra prudentia intelliget. Jus meum juris subsidio persequi non cogito; quia id omne præsidio vestræ bonitatis assequi plane spero, atque adeo expecto, neque ego solum mihi hoc spondeo, sed omnes in Anglia, quibus æquitas, bonitas, et vera nobilitas vestræ excellentiæ explorata unquam fuit, certo mihi asseverant atque pollicentur. Deus vestræ excellentiæ omnem florentem felicitatem concedat.

LXVI.—GRANT OF A PENSION (4, 68).

For the queen—granting a yearly pension of four thousand crowns French to a refugee, until he can return to France.

In gratiam Clarissimi D. N.—Pro regiæ majestate. —Quum nulla laus in principe illustrius emineat quam bonitas, benigneque quam plurimis faciendi proposita voluntas, qua una CHRISTUM virtute principes unice referunt, et propinquissime ad eum accedunt ; quumque bonitas humana quidem omnis et peropportuna, at illa sola divina et admirabilis existat, quæ respicit afflictos et calamitosos erigit ; quumque ex omni

miseriarum conditione nulla sit, vel deflenda magis vel juvanda prius quam eorum hominum, qui CHRISTI sequendi caussa mundi relinquunt commoda universa. Quapropter, nos captæ misericordia clarissimi viri N. quem domi impia crudelitas e patrimonio expulit, et e patrio solo ejecit, non alio quidem nomine, quam quia puriorem doctrinam CHRISTI, majestatem principis sui, libertatem patriæ paucorum libidini impie et indigne subjici non sustinuerit; et propter alias justas caussas nos plurimum commoventes; de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus ac per præsentes pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris, damus et concedimus dicto clarissimo N. annuam pensionem quater mille coronatorum Gallicorum, habendam et percipiendam prædicto N. de Thesauro nostro per manus receptoris generalis curiæ nostræ Wardorum et Liberationum, ad quatuor anni tempora, incipiendo ad festum Sancti MICHAELIS Archangeli proxime præteritum. Qua quidem annua pensione prædictum N. frui et gaudere volumus, donec pacatis his durioribus temporibus, in Gallia integrum illi atque tutum esse possit domi apud suos Deo principi et patriæ secure inservire; vel quovis alio modo contingat illi, in patrimonium suum et pristinum statum quiete et ex animi sui sententia, reponi. In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

LXVII.—HADDON TO ARCHB. PARKER, (5, 55).

About Malta besieged by the Turks, &c.

Bruges, July 30, 1565.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri, D. D. Matthæo Parkero, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—Colloquium nos-

trum operosius est et impeditius quam fore credebamus: itaque vereor, ne diutius quam vellemus Anglia simus carituri. Dominus WOTTONUS sæpe prædicat et libenter, ut videtur, de publicis impensis et apparatibus tuis Cantuariensibus; et illa credit ad honorem, et existimationem tuam vehementer pertinuisse. Renuntiatur etiam, exstare jussu tuo precatiunculam in qua Christianorum salus publice contra Turcarum vim Deo commendatur: quod propositum ut institutione fuit valde pium et susceptione necessarium, ita videtur ad finem inprimis optabilem pervenisse. Rumores enim hic in omnibus locis percrebescunt, primum summotos ab arce Melitensi Turcas, deinde profligatos, postremo cæsos illorum exercitus, et ducem interfectum; et nostros in acie superiores ad arcem tetendisse, et eandem nunc esse omnibus ex partibus munitissimam. Magna sunt hæc et memorabilia, si vera sunt; et licet aliquid fama fortassis affingat, ut solet, tamen credibile est Deum ibi nostris adfuisse quoniam arx ante mensem, omnium consensu desperabatur, nec quicquam erat propius quam ut nostri Turcicis terroribus cederent: nisi Deus singulari quadam et subita virtute illorum animos imbuisset. Sed hæc ad te particulatim non dubito perscripta fuisse: tamen quum nihil communi Christianæ professioni jucundius esse possit, meum etiam in his testimonium adjungere volui. Vale! Deus te servet tuaque omnia.—Brugis Tertio Calendas, Augusti 1565. Tuus deditissimus

GUALTERUS HADDON.

LXVIII.—STURM TO SIR A. COOK (5, 25).

Sent by Andrew Citolini, whom Sturm could not retain, because he had been so spoliated by Domina Royana—Asks protection for Citolini, and has written to Queen Elizabeth about him. Strasburg, Oct. 1, [1565.]

Nobilissimo et Clarissimo viro, D. Antonio Cooko, Anglo, domino suo observando, Joannes Sturmius.—Si meus conspectus, vir clarissime, tibi jucundus esset, si adessem isthic, non dubito quin ALEXANDRI CITOLINI, qui has reddidit, tibi multo gratissimus adventus sit, quum æque mihi atque germanus frater gratus sit atque acceptus, et majores ipse quam ego in literis nostris communibus progressus, ut mihi videtur, fecerit. Ἀναλυτικὴν illam, quam omnes a me multis jam annis expectant, tenet perfecte, et septem dierum sermonibus septem explicatam sermone suo patrio divulgavit; quemadmodum ex ipsius volumine quod adfert, pro tua prudentia et eximia doctrina intelliges. Non dubito quin tibi gratissimum futurum sit hanc cognoscere. Mihi magnopere dolet, usque adeo me spoliatum esse fortunis meis a domina ROYANA, ut hunc virum mea pecunia non potuerim apud me retinere: quod communicata inter nos opera atque industria hoc opus perficeremus. Quæso effice, ut regina hic rebus mortalium non desit, et sua liberalitate adsit viro optimo, doctissimo, sane magno in literis homini. Mitto tibi exemplum epistolæ meæ ad reginam, ut videas quomodo queas ὑπουργεῖν. Utinam vestro viatico et stipendio retineatis per biennium, ad perficiendum id, cujus summa laus perventura esset ad reginam, et eos qui reginæ auctores fuisse viderentur. In exilium proficisci cogitur propter Papistarum crudelitatem, ex amœnissimo et fructuosissimo prædio: uxore et liberis caret, caret patria et usu amicorum, et hæc ita fert

patienter, ut illius patientia mihi misericordiam moveat. Aderis viro optimo et homini literatissimo, si huic apud generum et apud reginam aderis, ut sedem suis musis adipiscatur. Habet alterum a me sibi commissum negotium, quod ad vos pertinet, et ex ipso intelliges. Certe ego nullam aliam viam video perveniendi quo propositum est, si est propositum, quam hanc, magis fructuosam et gloriosam et tutam. Quod vos statuetis, Deum precor ut felix faustumque sit vobis, populoque vestro. Dominæ ROXANÆ perfidia me pauperem et egenum fecit. Coactus sum intercessionem nostrorum principum implorare, qui scripserunt omnes, etiam præfecti militares; imploro etiam reginæ regisque auctoritatem. Jus meum jure persequar vel civili, vel . . . , detrimentum enim egestatem mihi attulit, et periculum fidei meæ, quam ego pro crudelissima muliere obligavi creditoribus. Si regina Angliæ graviter pro me scriberet, plurimum mihi prodesset; et gratissimum faceret principibus nostris. Admiralius aliquam spem ostendit principibus, sed nosti gentem et populum. Redeo ad CITOLINUM: obsecro te, si mihi gratum facere cupis, huic gratificeris. Ex hoc cognosces, et de hisce rebus omnibus, et de Germania atque imperio. Vale, vir clarissime, et patrone observande. Argentorati, Calendis Octobris.

LXIX.—STURM TO SIR W. CECIL (5, 26).

Asks him to patronize Citolini. Strasburg, Oct. 1, 1565.

Nobilissimo et clarissimo viro, domino Gulielmo Cæcilio, equiti, a consiliis secretis serenissimæ reginæ Angliæ, domino suo observando, Joannes Sturmius.—

Si unquam, vir clarissime, jucundum tibi fuit, adesse viris bonis, innocentibus, eruditis, certe aderis ALEXANDRO CITOLINO, qui has reddidit, viro optimo, integerrimo, literatissimo. Ex illius septem dierum sermonibus intelliges, qualem et quantam rationem animo complexus sit, scripto explicarit, et eo progressus sit, ut ad arcem et caput facultatis admirabilis pervenire brevi queat: si serenissima regina suam benignam manum et felicem dexteram porrigat. Quænam ista ratio sit ex socero etiam intelliges; cui scripsi copiosius, reveritus ne tibi homini occupatissimo et viro gravissimo molestus essem, si scriberem prolixius. Quæso te atque oro adsis exuli isti CHRISTI; adsis etiam literarum studiis, atque ipsis literatis hominibus, qui hujusmodi rationem omnes vel exoptarunt vel investigarunt. Commisi ei quædam, quæ ad vos maximopere pertinere mihi videntur; in quibus ei fidem haberi cupio, homini scilicet humanissimo, viro fidelissimo, exuli innocentissimo, pudicissimæ uxoris castissimo marito, carissimorum liberorum cupidissimo parenti; denique quantum huic benefeceritis, id totum CHRISTO vos facturos. Vale, vir clarissime. Argentorati, Calendis Octobris, 1565.

LXX.—STURM TO QUEEN ELIZABETH (5, 27).

Also in praise of Citolini. Oct. 1, 1565.

Serenissimæ et potentissimæ domine Elizabethæ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ reginæ, Joannes Sturmius. —Serenissima regina, et domina clementissima, ALEXANDRUM CITOLINUM ita paucis diebus amare cœpi, ut

dicere non possim, patremne majore benevolentia si viveret queam colere. Hanc sive amoris et studii, sive pietatis et caritatis flammam excitarunt multa indicia incredibilis virtutis, et confirmavit magna significatio excellentis judicii et singularis doctrinæ. Sed in hac doctrina una inest ratio, in qua ipse annos jam triginta et amplius versor; quam ille mihi videtur perfecte consequutus esse. Quid enim præclarius esse potest, quam in arcem sapientiæ certa via et ratione conscendere, in qua quicquid in universa natura est, totum illud sit locis notatum, generibus partitum, formis distinctum, idque plenum atque congestum rebus et sententiis, earumque verbis atque formulis? Usque adeo, ut quicquid cogitanti in mentem venire possit, illius queat ad locum decurrere, et uno aspectu intueri quæcunque de eo vel cogitatione comprehendi, vel scripto notari vel oratione exprimi debeat. Usque adeo, ab uno solo initio, mens hominis per omnem rerum naturam, ad unum quoddam extremum indagando et perlustrando potest decurrere. Hanc rationem CITOLINUS tenet, et eam septem dierum sermonibus ostendit dilucide; quemadmodum Majestas vestra cognoscet ex iis quæ sermone suo patrio conscripsit. Congestione rerum adhuc opus habet, et deportatione ad locos singulos, quo compleantur; qua in re auxilio opus habet non solum operarum sed locupletis et liberalis dextræ: quam si majestas vestra viro optimo, et homini doctissimo porrexerit, habebunt non solum studiosi literarum, verum etiam viri doctrinis artium liberalium eruditi, quo utantur, quum ad suas studiorum rationes, tum ad publicas omnium commoditates; imprimis vero ad decus et celebrationem vestræ majestatis, et illius dextræ, quæ sumptus atque impensam largita erit. Sed hæc cujusmodi sint,

majestas vestra et ex ALEXANDRI volumine Italico, et ipsius auctoris atque inventoris oratione cognoscet. Commisi etiam ei aliquid, quod ad majestatis vestræ laudem atque decus pertinere videtur; in quo eandem ipsi fidem haberi cupio quam mihi, si coram adessem. In utraque re oro majestatem vestram, ut ALEXANDRUM clementer atque benigne audiat. Sed natura est præditus verecunda; nihil audet, nisi ex vultu et oculis aures avidas intelligat; non efficere solet, quod vult et quod potest. Ubi vero placere se posse sentit, ita disertus est, ut mihi videatur eloquentis vire facere officium.

Deum patrem, et Dominum nostrum JESUM oro, ut majestatem vestram sanam, salvam, incolumen, felicem et prosperam conservet.—Argentorati, Calendis Octobris, Anno Dom. 1565. Serenissimæ majestatis vestræ perpetuus famulus.

LXXI.—STURM TO SIR J. HALES (5, 33).

Recommends Citolini, and says that he has had to pay nine thousand crowns in France, by having stood surety "for that woman" [Qy. *Domina Royana*? See LXVIII.]

Strasburg, Oct. 1 [1565].

Nobili et clarissimo viro, Domino Joanni Halesio, Joannes Sturmius.—Clarissime vir, ALEXANDRUM CITOLINUM, qui has reddidit, ita tuo patrocinio commendo, ut virum optimum, et hominem literatissimum, et in ea ratione perfectum in qua scis me annos versatum esse quam plurimos. Regina rem præclaram fecerit, si hominem exulem et virum innocentem suo patrocinio tueatur, et stipendio adsit; quo id quod septem sermonibus delineavit, id totum cœdificare et omni supellectile consummare possit. Ego nihil malim quam

mecum per biennium esse. Efficeremus aliquid, quod etiam posteris profuturum esset, non solum ad doctrinam perfectiorem sed etiam faciliorem. Ex ipso cognosces rem omnem, oro te, adsis tua solita et antiqua bonitate. De meis rebus, et de injuria Gallorum adversus me, ex ipso intelliges. Crudelissime jam triennium exerceor; misereret te STURMII, si sensus illius sentires. Ego triennium jam quæro in Gallia, et nullum possum gratum hominem invenire: novem millia coronatorum cogor hujus mulieris nomine exsolvere, solum quia interposui fidem meam, nulla spe lucri, ne teruntii quidem. Nullum etiam teruntium vidi ex hac tanta summa, quam per suum procuratorem accepit a negotiatoribus. Sed quid ego tibi homini humanissimo dolorem moveo? quæso recrea CITOLINUM, et te illius studiis atque inventis refice. Vale, vir clarissime. Argentorati, Calendis Octobris.

LXXII.—STURM TO SIR A. COOK (5, 28).

Apologises for having sent a letter without name or date. Recommends Citolini. Strasburg, Dec. 3, 1565.

Nobilissimo et clarissimo viro, Domino Antonio Cooko, Joannes Sturmius.—Scribo hæc valde mœstus, literis CITOLINI nostri commotus; in quibus scribit, nullam a me positam fuisse ὑπογραφὴν nominis, loci, temporis. Orto te pro tua bonitate, excusa me atque defende apud reginam et generum. Certe factùm est errore scribæ mei, cui plurimas eo die dedi et describendas et signandas literas. Quicquid hæ literæ promittunt de CITOLINO, totum illud ego præstabo. Novi virum minime circumforaneum. Obsecro ne quid eum pati patiaris, vel propter me, vel propter bonitatem

tuam. Exulat ob religionem, a patria, ab uxore, a liberis; homo domi non obscurus, neque inops; paucorum verborum homo est: minime malus, bene literatus. Exhilara me quæso literis tuis, exhilarabis autem si intellexero, neque Reginam mihi offensam esse, et CITOLINI salutem vobis curæ esse. Vale, vir clarissime. Argentorati, III Decembris, Anno Dom. 1565.

LXXIII.—TO THE KING OF SPAIN (L, 71).

A second letter on the subject of Henry Fallofelde's ship, which had been seized. It is not easy to harmonize the dates of this event, as given here and in Letter LX.

Westminster, Dec. 22, 1565.

Serenissimo Hispaniarum regi, etc.—Elizabetha, etc. Ex testimonio multorum spectatæ fidei hominum et ex ipsa re item plane constat durius actum fuisse proximo superiori mense Septembri cum navi et bonis fidelis nostri subditi HENRICI FALLOFELDE mercatoris Londinensis, per certos subditos vestræ serenitatis magistratus et cives de Bilbo et Castro, quam ipsa æquitas aut mutua, quæ debet esse utrobique inter nostros, humanitas requirit. Hæc navis proficiscens superiori æstate negotiatum in Hispaniam, tempestatis vi et sali jactatione ad oram Castri compellitur, et vix ingressa portum pro piratica capitur. Excutiuntur vectores omnes; magister cum aliquot nautis in custodiam conjicitur: diripiuntur bona; abducuntur armamenta; et facta de more per magistratus severa in eos inquisitione, quum ipsos nihil perperam admisisse satis exploratum haberent, liberos ad navem dimittunt. Sed quum hac via æquitatis nihil proficerent, suboriuntur tandem certi testes, asseverantes hanc navem mense Januario, anno MDLXIII piraticam exercuisse non pro-

cul ab Ulyssipona, et se ab illa nave tum istic spoliatos fuisse ; quum certissime constat hanc ipsam navem eo ipso tempore et sex item menses ante et post, in navali nostro de Portesmouth inermem et imparatam ab omni re sui reficiendæ gratia in ancoris stetisse. Quæ res quam vera sit, certa testimonia hominum spectatæ fidei publico scripto et sigillis consignata, qui has nostras perfert exhibenda habet. Itaque non dubitamus quin quam primum hæc causa ad notitiam vestræ serenitatis pervenerit mandatura sit statim magistratibus de Bilbo et Castro, ut hæc navis cum præfecto, nautis et bonis universis integre et libere (atque id cum justa expensarum et damnorum compensatione, quæ subditus noster ratione hujus negotii passus sit) dimittatur. Et nos similiter studiose curabimus ut vestri subditi sub omni meo imperio paris æquitatis ratione semper accipiantur. — Deus, etc. Westm. XXII° Decembris, 1565.

LXXIV.—MOUNT TO ASCHAM (5, 29).

Speaks of old times, at the court of Charles V—they both like roasted chesnuts—he is sorry for Hales's misfortune, and asks his help for the widow and children of Seven.

Strasburg, Dec. 24, 1565.

Prudentia et eruditione claro, domino Aschamo, amico suo, ut antiquissimo, ita colendissimo, Christophorus Montius.—Sæpe mihi in memoriam redire solet jucundissima illa cohabitatio et consuetudo, qua in ædibus domini Morisini, tum temporis oratoris apud Carolum Quintum sanctissimi regis Edvardi VI, conviximus, Aschame carissime ; nec eam a me abstulit, vel auferet, vel temporum longinquitas, vel locorum distantia. Memini te valde delectari solitum tostis castaneis :

quando iis vescor, memoriam et desiderium tui mihi revocant. Si eadem delectatio ejus fructus, et idem calor stomachi est, certa indicia sunt constantis valetudinis et roboris; ego faciliores cibos modo expeto. HALESII lapsum omnes hic dolemus, et speramus eum propediem commiseratione et clementia serenissimæ reginæ, libertatem et integritatem recuperaturum. Nam voluntas et propositum distinguunt maleficia.

Uxoris et liberorum SEVENI caussam apud bonos viros agere non graveris. Nihil enim Christiano viro magis dignum, quam succurrere egentibus. Duplex beneficium est opitulari viduæ et orphanis. Præclarissimi viri mors domini MASSONI perpetuo luctu me affligit: paucissimos modo in aula patronos superstites habeo, in quorum ordine vetustissimi sunt dominus WOTTONUS, dominus GULIELMUS PETREIUS; quibus ut officiocissime me commendes, rogo: similiter ut reverendissimo Episcopo LONDINENSI, domino ANTONIO COOKO, et domino HENRICO KNOLLES: animi mei erga eos studium et observantiam perpetuam annuncies, amanter rogo. Vale. Argentinæ, nono calendas Januarii, Anno Domini 1566.

LXXV.—TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER (W, 284*).

Complains to Leicester that he cannot get possession of his prebend of Wetwang, by reason of the archbishop of York's presenting some one else. The queen, as appears from Letter LXXVII., put this right for him. April 14, 1566.

Most honourable and my best lord—If I should write at full to your lordship what my heart would, or what my present necessity requireth, I might seem either to flatter or to overreach; to flatter, because I

write unto you; to overreach, because I write of myself. But I trust your goodness will judge me void of both, when such as cannot be great graters either for gain or profit; and how troublesome I have been to your lordship, and that, notwithstanding in as much fair offered good-will on your lordship's part, both privately to myself and openly to others, as any of my calling hath had in this court, your lordship knoweth best. And for my heart towards your lordship I need not to write, for herein three witnesses will satisfy, or nothing will serve,—God, the queen, and yourself; and in all this your goodness, open to all, both friend and foe, being always as loath to say any man nay, as ever you were able to do any man good, who as I know full well myself, and as the report of other men goeth, hath done more good even to your enemies than any man else hath done good to his friends. The cause why in all this opportunity I have not troubled your lordship by way of suit, was neither forgetfulness of myself nor mistrust of your goodness, but only the watching for such a time and such a matter as might be both easy for your lordship to obtain, and fit for me and mine to enjoy; besides that of myself, not only by nature, but also by judgment, I am more desirous to deserve good will than to trouble you with suits, which hath been the only cause why in so many fair years and days which I have past and spent with her majesty, I never opened my mouth to trouble her majesty with suits. And this request I do gladly make, for I do think and also fear that then your lordship doth think that your friend doth deal unkindly and offer you wrong, who doth not both look and labour for goodness at your lordship's hands; but see my most unhappy hap, or else the strange and over-bold injury of others, by whom I am

driven, even of necessity, first to complain of an injury before I crave any benefit at your lordship's hands, who have ventured to turn the fairest way of my most hoped furtherance into a ready path of my utter undoing. For where I surely fixed my hope to have had more stay of your lordship's goodness than of any man else, some have been so bold as to abuse your lordship's authority to do that injury that few or none would, either for inward conscience or common humanity, have offered unto me; for if the matter, for the deed itself, for the manner of the doing, for the persons that have done it, were expressed by me as I could, and understanded by others to the full, it would fall out more to other men's shame than my injury, although my utter undoing did follow thereof. But hitherto I have kept the matter from the queen's majesty, not disclosed it to good Mr SECRETARY, saying less to any other than either my inward grief might justly have uttered, or the injury offered and unkindness done might well have deserved; for I purpose so to refer the matter only to your lordship as all that hear the cause shall witness that either I obtain my right by your lordship's goodness only, or else suffer wrong by your lordship's only authority. For I say, and will say, both now and hereafter, and here and elsewhere, if the matter be not amended, that no boldness durst, nor no power could have offered or done me this wrong, except some men had thought that the shade of your lordship's authority should have so covered their doings, and stopped my mouth, as none should have seen, nor I durst have uttered the injury done unto me. But they are deceived, for though I am not so bold and forward as some other be in craving of benefits, yet dare I well enough com-

plain of an injury, if, when and where and by whom it should not, it be offered unto me; but as they ventured boldly to abuse your lordship's authority, so have they not spared with overmuch boldness to deal not the best with the queen's majesty in disappointing her goodwill, and illuding her purpose in that matter wherein she was specially bent openly to show a certain prerogative of her goodness towards me. For did her majesty give me that prebend by her only goodness and Mr SECRETARY'S motion, without any suit, without my knowledge, that another man should reap the best fruit of that her goodwill? or when Mr. BOURNE would needs entitle the queen to the fee-simple of that prebend, did her majesty give out her commission, write her letters, send special tokens, talk earnestly with her officers, give strait commandment to the whole Court of Exchequer, that without delay I should have right in a matter against herself? Was this prerogative, I say, of her goodness so specially declared, so openly testified, that my Lord of YORK might prevail and disappoint all her majesty's meanings therein? I trust all good and wise men will both think and say nay. And besides his injury of me, besides your lordship's authority, and besides the illuding of her majesty's good purpose and will, surely the unkind dealing doth grieve me most of all; for these seven years I have spent my life in cares at home, my living in suit and charges abroad; I have sold away my plate, and that which grieveth me much, my wife's poor jewels; I have by this present suit brought in danger of forfeiting my whole living to comfort my wife and my children, for by charges of his suit I owe the . . . . . £200 and more, in witness of which debate Sir RICHARD SACKVILE hath my lease, given me by Queen

Mary, which is the whole and only living that I have to leave to my wife and children, who may truly say when I am gone, We may go all a begging for any thing that ever Sir ASKAM could ever get unto us by all his service done to Queen ELIZABETH, or by his great offices that he had in the Court. This careful thought, my lord, pincheth me ever near the heart; hereby cometh my gray hairs, my hollow eyes, my heavy looks, my long absence from the court, my thoughtful biding at home, my daily present grief for them which should be my greatest and best comfort; and the better wife the fairer children that God hath blest me withal, the greater is my grief that all my service in the court should purchase them nothing but beggary when I am gone; for if I die, all my things die with me, and yet the poor service that I have done to Queen ELIZABETH shall live still, and never die, so long as her noble hand and excellent learning in the Greek and Latin tongue shall be known to the world. And also my hap is over-bad, that I, being thought fit to be a Secretary to a prince and princess abroad, cannot be thought worthy of one groat by year at home, neither by land, fee, nor farm, nor otherwise, which my wife and children may enjoy when I am gone. Ah, my lord, God keep all good men from these cares; for he that never had good wife nor fair children can never come to these cares and thoughts, and therefore, truly, very unhappy, and only unhappy, may I be both counted now and chronicled hereafter, if of all those that have been so long and so nigh to so noble a prince, I only in the end must leave nothing but miseries to my dearest friends.

I see, most noble lord, these my inward griefs cause me to utter forth ever these household griefs, and I

was not so much purposed to lament my own misery as to complain upon others' injury, unkindness, and uncourtesy, done unto me in this matter; for all these my inward cares at home be doubled and tribled to me abroad by outward troubles, partly by the injury of my enemies, but more by the unkindness of my friends. Mr. BOURNE did never grieve me half so much in offering me wrong, as Mr DUDLEY and the BISHOP of YORK do by taking away my rights. No Bishop in Queen MARY's days would have dealt so with me, no, not Mr. . . . . himself, when WINCHESTER lived, durst have dealt so with me; for such estimation in those (even the learnedest and wisest men, as GARDINER, HEATH, and Cardinal POOLE) made of my poor service, that, although they knew perfectly that in religion, by open writing and privy talk, I was contrary unto them, yet that where SIR FRANCIS INGLEFIELD by name did note me specially at the council board, GARDINER would not suffer me to be called thither, nor touched elsewhere, saying such words of me as in a letter, though letters cannot blush, yet should I blush to write therein to your lordship. WINCHESTER'S good will stood not in speaking fair and wishing well, but he did indeed that for me whereby my wife and children shall live the better when I am gone. Ah! most noble lord, shall my wife and children say truly when I am gone, Yet we have this to live on, gotten by my good Lord of WINCHESTER in Queen MARY's time; but we have not one penny to live upon gotten by my good Lord of LEICESTER in Queen ELIZABETH's time; yea the living that was specially purposed by her noble goodness to do us good, my lord of LEICESTER, though not openly by his means, yet by his authority and suffering is taken

from us. Ah! my good lord, perchance you think these words be over-sharp and needless; I think so too; for I hope surely your lordship's goodness will prove them so to be in the end; but sure I am that at this present I write not so sharply as they do shrewdly, which of necessity compel me thus to write; for all these cares and costs have I sustained only to maintain the church of York's right, thinking that in the end for my labour and charge my lord archbishop's grace, who never yet spent one penny in the right of his patronage, would first by courtesy bestow the advocation thereof upon my son DUDLEY, then of conscience grant unto me a good lease to redeem these charges, which this suit hath put me unto; but now, when I have by long suit, great cost, and care, brought by order of law, by verdict of judgment, this prebend to the church of York again, which four archbishops in forty years could never bring to pass, behold, when I looked for thanks and hoped for recompence of my great charges by some long lease at the least, my lord archbishop, before the matter was ended (for yet it remaineth in costly trial) to me most unkindly, to my present undoing and perpetual grief, hath given away the advocation, and given it so under his, the dean and chapter's seal, as now another man shall enjoy the sweet kernel of the nut which I have been so long in cracking, and nothing left unto me but shells to feed me withal; aye, my lord, other kind of writing than these heavy letters had been more fit for this present time, and surely thus had I never written, if the bishop in this matter had made any account of learning, conscience, humanity, or courtesy, or else of his own promise unto me, wherewith I will charge him, and that in the best presence that ever I meet him in England. But

to let the bishop go, at whose hands I look for no good, I refer the whole matter only to your lordship, who justly may and easily, to no man's injury, to my great comfort and commodity, to your high praise too amongst all that shall hear of it, your lordship may, I say, amend all the matter, which if you do, like your own doing in all other things else, and that is justly, gently, and courteously, which, as I truly look for, so some of the wisest and best men of this realm, and those that think most honourably of your lordship's good nature, do assure me you will do so. The way is this:—let the bishop, who, as your lordship knoweth, is both willing for your sake and able of himself, do JOHN DUDLEY some other better good turn than this, and if it be twice as good I shall not envy it, so it be not joined with injuring me. Then may your lordship take the advocation, and in stead of DUDLEY your servant bestow it on DUDLEY your son, and so shall JOHN DUDLEY have a benefit, I receive no injury, your lordship deserve all thanks, and the bishop none at all. And thus very happily shall fall out a mean, whereby your lordship may be a good godfather indeed unto your son, and I and my wife most bounden to you, as our assured hope hath always been and still is, that we and ours shall have good cause of comfort once at your lordship's hands, and then shall I both live in more joy, and die with less care, when I shall leave my dearest child so carefully provided for by his noble godfather. But if your lordship do not thus, I must think, and other will judge, that you do me plain wrong, which you do indeed, though not directly by yourself, yet manifestly by others, if you suffer any other, under the shade of your authority, to do it unto me. And then I must think my hap over-hard that

your lordship, whose custom is to do good to your enemies, should thus undo me, your poor and true friend, and whose nature is to do good to all, and hurt to none, should begin the first injury that ever you did, to offer it to him who is more desirous of the increase of your lordship's honour than ever he was of his own profit. And therefore, most noble and my best lord, I pray you in God's behalf to let me understand plainly whether you purpose to do or undo in this matter, yea, a speedy nay shall be more welcome than my right won by over-long travail. If you say nothing, then you tell me plainly you will do nothing for me; if you drive me off with fair words, you drive me, though not openly, to complain, yea, to lament elsewhere than the injury was done unto me. But surely you cannot do so for good nature's sake, nor will do so for-honour's sake, nor ought not to do so both for conscience and for equity of the cause, and also of courtesy for that true heart and good will which you know I have ever borne to you and to your name. And thus I end, reposing the doing and undoing of me, my wife, and your son DUDLEY, and the rest of my poor children in your lordship's only hand, praying God to send you as I wish you.—Your honor's most ready at commandment, ROGER ASKHAM.

To the Right Honourable my most honoured good Lord Robert Earl of Leicester, &c., at London, 14th of April, 1566.

LXXVI.—HADDON TO ARCHBP. PARKER (5, 56).

Acknowledges the receipt of a letter and a book from the archbishop—names Bucer, P. Martyr, Lord Montacute, Wotton, and Aubrey. Bruges, June 13, 1566.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri, D. D. Matthæo

Parkero, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.—Accepi literas tuas et libellum una missum, et utrumque mihi gratissimum fuit, quoniam fuit te dignissimum. Hoc etiam rectissime factum est quod Buceri sententiam et Petri Martyris apponi curavisti; quorum auctoritas licet sola plebeiorum istorum et novitiorum commenta frangere posset, tamen perfectissimi theologi tam graviter in his caussis argumentati sunt, ut ipsis rationum momentis omnibus satisfieri possit, qui secum aures sinceras et nullis errorem præjudiciis occupatas afferre volunt. Quapropter in doctrina satis arbitror esse processum; in disciplina reliquum esse debet, ut illorum importunitas pœna devinciatur, qui contra principis edictum et publicas ecclesiæ constitutiones in rebus arbitrariis vociferantur. Tua maximam commendationem providentia debet habere, qui prius istos errores exploras, quam se in rempublicam insinuent: et illorum magistros eo ablegas, ubi ipsi sibi prodesse possunt si velint, aliis obesse, si velint, non possint. Deus tibi spiritum suum continenter impertiat, ut ejus ecclesiam diu et feliciter administres. Vale. Brugis, idibus Junii, 1566. Valde te salutant Dominus Montacutus et Wootonus et etiam Aubrius nunc convictor meus. Tuus benevolentissimus,

Gualterus Haddon.

LXXVII.—QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK (w, 288).

Commands the archbishop to withdraw his grant of the Wetwang prebend from the man to whom he had given it, and to give it to Ascham, in conformity with the Queen's previous presentation. This letter is dated 1580 in W, 288: but this is evidently wrong. It belongs to either 1566, 1567, or 1568. June 20.

To the Archbishop of York, Elizabeth R.—Most Reverend Father in God, and right trusty and well-beloved. In the first year of our reign, for a special favour and regard that we had to the person and services of our trusty and well-beloved servant, ROGER ASKAM, our secretary for the Latin tongue, we did bestow upon him without any his suit or knowledge of our doing thereof, a prebend called Wetwange, in our cathedral church of York; notwithstanding after that, our gift was called into controversy and long suit of law, the trial whereof hath been so troublesome to our servant, that unless we ourself had extended our authority to the ending of his trouble, and also our liberality to the aiding of his charges, our well-meant gift and benefit might hereafter have turned to the utter undoing of him and his. And now, notwithstanding all this our special good-will to him so well known and openly testified, and all the charges which he hath sustained, as we are credibly certified, only in maintaining the title of our patronage, without all your cost and care, another man, privately by an advocation granted by you, goeth about not only to enjoy that commodity which by desert, conscience, and amity, is due to our said servant, but also over-boldly to despise all our good meanings, many ways declared in this matter to do that benefit to our said servant for his acceptable service done to us, that might tend hereafter to the good of him and his. We cannot think this manner of proceeding so allowable as the merits of our said servant did require, and therefore we require you earnestly to take such order as the advocation may be revoked into your hands again, and then to bestow it at our request upon our said servant, being one who, besides his own service to us, deserveth

estimation for his singular learning, at whose charges also, and for whose sake the title of your interest hath been so well maintained, and withal to ratify and confirm under your seal, the dean and chapter, such a lease as our trusty and right well beloved Sir WILLIAM CECILL, Knight, our principal secretary, to whom his service is best known, shall in our name request of you to be granted unto him, both for the recompense of the great charges our said servant hath sustained in law, as also for the present maintenance of his service, and comfort hereafter of his wife and children. Of which our request we doubt not such your regard as appertaineth; so as our said servant may well see that we were no more beneficial in giving this living, than now we be mindful to maintain the same to him given.—At our Court of Whitehall, the 20th day of June, 1580 [66?].

To the most Reverent Father in God, EDWIN, Lord Archbishop of York, our trusty and entirely beloved.

LXXVIII.—TO QUEEN ELIZABETH (4, 50).

For William and George Winter—asking redress for the loss of their ship, which the Portuguese had sunk with all on board. April 10, 1567.

Serenissimæ principi D. Elizabethæ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ reginæ—pro Gulielmo et Georgio Winteris fratribus.—Serenissima princeps, domina nostra clementissima. Ad vestræ majestatis genua prostrati, nos, GULIELMUS et GEORGIUS WINTERI fratres, vestræ serenitatis et obedientissimi subditi et addictissimi famuli, in difficillimo rerum nostrarum statu, misericordiæ vestræ opem et majestatis vestræ præsidium humillime imploramus. Casus et caussa nostra hæc est. Nos anno Domini 1565, mense Septembri,

navem nostram, quæ *Maria Fortuna* nominata fuit, factore, gubernatore, nautis et mercibus Anglicis instructam, negotiatum expedivimus ad illas Æthiopiæ partes, quæ inter Cabo Verde et Rio de Cesto sunt interjectæ. Quumque istic nostri factores perhumaniter ab incolis accepti commercia sua amice et quiete obivissent, et comparatis quas expetebant mercibus in navemque comportatis, quum omnia jam ad reditum spectarent, ecce, duæ bellicæ naves cum duabus triremibus, ex armada serenissimi regis Portugaliæ, illam nostram negotiatoriam, non procul ab ipso Rio de Cesto, more plusquam hostili invadunt. Navem enim cum omnibus vectoribus, ad numerum viginti unius personarum, cum omnibus bonis, ad valorem septies mille sexcentarum librarum sterling, et plus eo, in profundo demergunt. Nostri factores nihil commiserunt, nihil tentarunt, cur ab amicis tantam hostilitatem, a Christianis tantam crudelitatem, et præsertim Angli a Lusitanis, tam immanem inhumanitatem expectarent. Populus enim is, quicum nostri factores sunt negotiati, regi Portugaliæ, nec obedientia subjectus, nec vectigali obligatus, nec ulla societate magis conjunctus, quam cuivis alteri Principi existit. Itaque quum hæc Lusitanorum non ferenda vis prorsus tendat, non magis ad utriusque nostrum privatam quidem sed extremam miseriam, quam ad communem Anglici nominis summam contumeliam, humillime supplicamus vestræ majestati, ut illam opem et illud præsidium nobis in hac nostra calamitate concedere dignetur, quod ipsa æquitas, quod omnes leges, quum hujus regni propriæ, tum omnium gentium communes, nobis in hoc casu concedi volunt et præscribunt. Et nos Deum Optimum Maximum, ut vestram majestatem in omni florenti felicitate in longissimos annos conservet, orabimus. X Aprilis, 1567.

LXXIX.—TO SEBASTIAN KING OF PORTUGAL (4, 61).

For the queen—asks redress for an attack made by Ludovico de Almeda on the ship named the "Margaret," of Minehead, belonging to Thomas Pope and John Currie.

Serenissimo domino Sebastiano Regi Portugalliæ—Pro regia majestate.—THOMAS POPE, ut ad nos allatum est, et JOANNES KYRRIE, viri Angli, fideles nostri subditi, cum nave nuncupata *Le Margareta de Mynheade*, instructa nautis et onusta mercibus, profectionem hac superiori æstate ex Anglia versus insulam Tarsero instituunt, ut cum vestræ serenitatis isthic subditis amice de more negotiarentur. Inter trajiciendum, uti aiunt, ultimo die proximi superioris Junii LUDOVICUS de ALMEDA, vestræ serenitatis subditus, cum duabus armatis navibus hanc nostrorum solitariam et negotiatoriam navem more hostili, nulla a nostris præbita caussa, aggreditur; navem capit, nautas et vectores omnes tanquam captivos in insulam Tarsero abducit, ubi nec justitiæ nec humanitatis habita ratione, male et misere accipiuntur. Nam nostri, per idoneos isthic prædes ad omnia, quæ illis objici potuerant, offerentes se plene responsuros, non solum ab omni juris patrocinio duriter rejiciuntur, sed per eundem LUDOVICUM DE ALMEDA, in ipsa insula Tarsero, bonis suis omnibus inhumaniter spoliantur. Quæ bona ad valorem bis mille quadringentorum octoginta octo ducatorum, et plus eo, accedunt. Quæ quidem bona particulatim, in scripto quodam testimoniali cum his literis conjuncto, explicantur; quod scriptum communitas oppidi nostri Bridgewateri, pro his nostris subditis, vestræ serenitati exhibet. LUDOVICUS DE ALMEDA non contentus hoc facto, etiam porro nostros mercatores melioris notæ, in varias naves Portugallenses dispersos, in urbem

Ulyssiponam abducit; ubi sistuntur coram domino MANUELI DE ALMEDA, vestræ isthic serenitatis supremo justiciario. Et audita caussa, nostri liberantur quidem crimine, una cum ipsa nave; sed bona illis ablata minime restituta sunt. Nostri, hoc modo misere vexati et ad inopiam redacti, nostram opem implorant, quam illis in re tam justa denegare non possumus. Petimus itaque per fraternum amorem et mutuam nostram confœderationem, vestra ut dignetur serenitas eam curam hujus caussæ ita suspicere, ut per hos nostros subditos intelligere possimus, bona eorum eis primo quoque tempore esse restituta. Et hanc æquitatis rationem nostris subditis, in eorum tam justa caussa, vestra gratia, auctoritate, et jussu declaratam, nos similiter in vestrorum negotiis, quum par casus feret, studiose subsequemur.

LXXX.—TO FREDERICK KING OF DENMARK (4, 67).

For the queen—refers to a letter from the king, dated Hafniæ, Jan. 26, and delivered by his ambassador Alb. K . . . — complains of wrongs done to Englishmen—sent by John Foxal, as appears from Letter LXXXIV. April 22 [1567].

Regi Daniæ.—Dominus ALB. K. Legum doctor, vestræ serenitatis orator, literas vestras, vicesimo sexto Januarii Hafniæ datas, in initio hujus mensis Aprilis nobis tradidit. Rumores illi de immutata nostra voluntate veri quidem non sunt; sermo tamen isthuc perlatus, de frequentibus nostrorum mercatorum querelis, inanis vero non fuit. Tot enim tamque graves injuriæ, his proximis superioribus potissimum annis, sub vestro imperio, nostris spectatæ probitatis mercatoribus factæ sunt; quarum injuriarum remedium

nullum hactenus, nec nostrorum isthic supplicationibus, nec nostris hinc crebro missis literis obtineri potuerat, ut tandem nos ipsæ tot justis nostrorum querelis mature consulendum esse duxerimus. In qua cogitatione nostris quam primum prospiciendi, multum nostra versabantur consilia, eo ipso tempore, quo dominus K. ad nos pervenit. Injuriæ et damna, quæ nostri pertulerunt, vestræ serenitatis oratori, nostro mandato, et fuse explicata et probe pleneque cognita sunt. Ut hæ nostrorum caussæ in longiores moras, et sumptu intolerabiles et ipso tædio non ferendas, amplius rejiciantur, quomodo nimium jam diu factum est, non vult ratio, non fert æquitas. Si igitur, quomodo vestro oratori declaravimus, ante quartum abhinc mensem, his nostris mercatoribus ita recte et integre satisfactum fuerit, ut nec nostris amplius juste conquerendi, nec nobis vel scribendi alias literas vel capiendi alia consilia, necessitas fuerit imposita, rem faciet vestra serenitas, et ipsi æquitati, et nostræ expectationi, et bonorum judicio, et vestro item honori, admodum consentaneam. Ad has justas nostrorum querelas adjungemus nostram necessariam expostulationem de injuria, non subditorum nostrorum propria, sed utriusque nostrorum communi: in qua, certorum vestrorum audacia, facto nimis projecta, exemplo valde insolens extat. Quisquis enim ille fuit, qui auctor erat illarum vestrarum literarum, quæ decimo tertio superioris Octobris sunt datæ, dum nimium studet caussæ non satis bonæ, præterquam quod non debitam vestri honoris rationem habet, apertam quidem et ipsi veritati vim et nobis injuriam offert. Urgendo enim certum caput prisci fœderis, verbis germanis ablatis, alienis ingestis, genuinum sensum misere miscet et falso detorquet. Istius modi homines, qui has fœderum

sanctiones tam audacter, et propalam prudentes violant, quam sincere miserorum supplicationes cognoscant, dubium esse potest. Est illa namque insignis audacia domi, quæ sic eminet foras. Et quid non injuriæ privatis struant, qui sic cum principibus etiam data opera agunt? De horum hominum facto quid sentiendum sit, omnes vident: quid statuendum vero, vestræ serenitati relinquimus. Itaque, quemadmodum nos expectamus, ut primo quoque tempore nostris subditis bona sua recte et integre restituantur; ita non dubitamus, quin cura fuerit imprimis adhibita a vestra serenitate, ne præsenti impunitate malorum deinceps crescat audacia. Hæc enim hoc tempore tam opportune geminata ratio, et æquum faciendi malis, ad vestræ serenitatis inprimis, et æquitatis et honoris summam prædicationem, ad alendam feliciter inter nos ac nostros mutuam amicitiam, denique ad sancte sincereque conservandam omnem priscam et avitam confœderationem, maximopere pertinebit. Deus, etc. XXII Aprilis. *Pro R. M.*

LXXXI.—TO THE CONSULS AND SENATE OF STRALSUND (¶ 54).

For the queen. Asking redress for a wrong done to George North, agent to John G . . . . of Sandwich.

Westminster, May 12, 1567.

Dominis consulibus, et senatoribus civitatis Stralsoniensis.—Pro regia majestate.—Magnifici domini, viri spectabiles, amici carissimi. Et nos accepimus, et vobis valde perspectum esse intelligimus, qua fraude et quanta injuria MARTINUS S. civis ac mercator urbis vestræ, altero superiori anno tractavit istic apud vos GEORGIUM N. factorem fidelis nostri et dilecti subditi JOANNIS G. civis ac mercatoris Sandwicensis. Ubivis

gentium, et bene cum bonis et humaniter cum amicis semper agi oportet. At vero inter quos religionis summa consensio, amicitiæ firma ratio, et opportunæ negotiationis multa mutua et commoda commercia intercedunt, si istic ulla vel conventorum justa pacta, vel hospitalitatis tuta jura, vel æquitatis communia subsidia desiderarentur, perinique quidem esset comparatum: in quibus tamen omnibus duriter secum, hoc tempore, in vestra civitate actum esse, culpa vero MARTINI S., sed vestro quidem permissu, fidelis noster subditus graviter apud nos conqueritur. MARTINUS enim ille S., ut nobis allatum est, pactionem rite initam et recte confirmatam deserit; certas merces, pro certa navis emptione in manus nostri subditi per ipsum depositas, effracta sera, convulsis claustris, privata vi et intempesta nocte abducit. Is tamen nihilominus, ut nos audimus, suorum gratia istic potens, communis æquitatis remedium tollit, et publici juris cursum impedit. Hæc quidem agendi ratio multo gravior est, quam ut vel subditus noster pro suis fortunis jam ferre, vel nos pro nostro officio diu pati possimus; et longe iniquior etiam, quam ut vos, quorum urbem et humanitatis, et æquitatis, et justi commercii exercendi prisca quidem et præcipua laude florere sæpe nos accepimus, tolerare debeatis. Rem igitur facietis, rationi et æquitati valde consentaneam, urbis vestræ nomini atque dignitati prorsus congruentem, et nostræ de justitiæ apud vos recto cultu, et juris expedito cursu expectationi plane respondentem, si nostro dilecto subdito, sine litis molestia, sine moræ tædio, sine graviori temporis et pecuniæ dispendio, jus suum sibi, mature, recte, et integre restitui curaveritis. Et gratum præterea nobis officium præstabitis, quod vestris nos vicissim, quum opportunitas

feret, libenter reponemus, si ex vestro facto et nostri subditi sermone intelligamus, eam vos nostrarum literarum nostrique rogatus rationem habuisse, quam ipsæ vos in hac subditi nostri caussa expedienda habituros plane expectamus. Feliciter valeatis. Westmonasterii, XII Maii, 1567.

LXXXII.—TO THE DUKE OF STETTIN (4, 55).

For the queen. On the same subject.

[Westminster,] May 12, 1567.

Illustrissimo P. D. B. Duci Stetinensi, Po. Cas. Vandalorum, etc., Principi Rugiæ, Comiti in Gutzgaw consan. et amico nostro carissimo.—Pro Regia Majestate.—Illustrissime princeps, consanguinee et amice carissime. Commode et peropportune accidit hoc tempore, ut, quum nos diu jam studium et propensam voluntatem scribendi ad vestram excellentiam habuerimus, id jam ut necessario faciamus, certi nostri dilecti subditi negotium pernecessarium nos in præsenti commoveat. Nos non latet, sed diu nobis exploratum fuit, quinam sensus rectæ religionis, quantus amor bonarum literarum, quam acre justitiæ studium in vestræ excellentiæ animo residet. Itaque, in perjusta caussa fidelis ac dilecti nostri subditi JOANNIS G. civis et mercatoris Sandwicensis, si humanitatis officium, si æquitatis subsidium a vestra excellentia postulemus, non dubitamus, quin vestra excellentia, et suo judicio bonitati caussæ, et grata voluntate nostræ commendationi, libenter sit assensura. Quæ caussa sit, curabit is qui has nostras perfert, ut vestra excellentia, plene quidem, sed vere et certo certior fiat. Est quidam MARTINUS S. vester quidem subditus et civis Stralsoniensis; is fraude non ferenda, et injuria non tolerabili, ut nobis allatum est, adversus GEORGIUM N. factorem JOANNIS G. dilecti

subditi nostri, nimis audacter et insolenter usus est. Est præterea, uti accepimus, ille MARTINUS S. homo et sua natura valde litigiosus, et suorum istic gratia et amicitia admodum potens. Horum ope et istis opibus munitus, nostrum hominem istic peregrinum, ignotum fere omnibus, imparatum ab amicis, rudem vestræ jurisdictionis, in tanta solitudine et inopia subsidii, pro suo arbitratu, quavis et publica invidia et privata injuria facile premendum esse sperat. His incommodis omnibus ut vestra excellentia sua bonitate, prudentia, et auctoritate occurrat, et magistratum Stralsoniensem nostro subdito jus quamprimum expedire, ut jubeat, eo paucioribus verbis rogabimus, quo fidentius speramus, et certius expectamus, vestram excellentiam sic hanc fraudem, vim, et potentiam coerciturum, ut nostro fideli subdito pro debita sui juris ratione, cum justa damnorum et expensarum compensatione, primo quoque tempore sit in illa urbe satisfaciendum. Et quam necessario nunc scribimus de aliorum injuria, tam libenter deinceps, uti spes est, denuo scribemus de vestra æquitate; ut vos non magis jam propensæ ad commodi officii postulationem, quam semper paratæ, ad grati animi, et mutuæ quum benevolentiæ erga vos tum æquitatis erga vestros declarationem, esse videamur. XII Maii, 1567.

LXXXIII.—ANONYMOUS (D.)

A letter written by R. A. for a gent to a gentlewoman in way of marriage.

'Mistress N.—Because a letter containeth only words, and because naked words do but meanly recompense gentle deeds, I do not purpose now in mine absence, to answer with written thanks that friendly entertainment wherewith presently at your house you

and your good worshipful mother used me, withal having at this present such a matter and so fit a messenger, I was very desirous to write unto you. And although I have plenty what to write to you, yet surely I know not well how to write because I write to you, and of myself, lest to you I write less then I ought, and of myself more then I should; but the best is I shall have need to write but little, because you know already the matter so well, which is my mind and good will toward you, wherein if it please God and you to answer me with the like, I trust that God by me shall so order the matter as you shall provide thereby for yourself quietness and heart's-ease all the days of your life, for your children presently good and goodly bringing up of their life, and hereafter a sure stay for their living, for your friend's comfort, I trust, and friends to answer them with all friendship again. The likelihood and truth of these things I had rather you should hear of others' talk than by my letters. And surely he was a wise man that said in matters of marriage either party ought rather to trust their ears then believe their eyes. And although I have mine eyes as well contented as heart can wish, yet I assure you mine ears be better, if better can be, pleased with that that others tell me of your worthy conditions, then mine eyes be delighted with that that they do most assuredly warrant me of your outward favour and comeliness. And yet in referring you to other men's eyes I may perchance do myself herein some wrong; for, as I hear say, some have attempted to misuse your ears, if they would be misused, and concerning me and other matter, I pardon and also pity them with all my heart, because they are more ready of ill nature to envy me than they are any ways able to hinder me or

farther themselves; indeed, I envy none, and therefore have I not said any evil to you of any: if they be those whom I guess they be, surely I see nothing in them to envy them for, but very much to pity them for, if a man ought to pity such as for themselves deserve rather punishment than any pity at all; for besides bravery, roustery, spendfulness and waking I know not wherein they are able or do brag themselves.

Gentle Mrs N., take heed of such men, yea, and of me too, if you should understand me to be of that sort that rather will seek yours than you, and rather will seek by you to bear and face out a ruffling or ruffing countenance in the sight of the world than will purpose, and bend themselves to lead their life so in honest matrimony as they may be both most commended of the best men and best approved in the sight of God. And thus much to you I trust enough, for the matter I hope sufficient, for myself over-much, for my best friends not so much as they do desire. And thus I take my leave of you for this time in this matter, wholly referring you and me and that, chiefly to God's will and providence therein, secondarily to your own discreet judgment of me and other, and somewhat to the report of such as both for their wisdom can, and for their honesty will say truth, and not to such as of ill-nature or worse occasion be ready to envy or deprave the state of others.

God preserve you as myself, with your good worshipfull mother, to whom I pray you make my most hearty commendations.

LXXXIV.—TO THE KING OF DENMARK (4, 62).

For the queen. Refers to her last letter delivered by John Foxal, complaining of numerous wrongs done to many Englishmen; and now thanks the king for having released Ralph Clayton, who had been imprisoned, and asks compensation for his ship, which had been lost. June 1, 1567.

Regi Danice E. Pro Regia Majestate.—Præter illas multorum nostrorum mercatorum varias caussas, de quibus, per certum nostrum nuntium, JOANNEM FOXAL, nuper ad vestram serenitatem scripsimus, justa quidem nobis hoc tempore oblata caussa est, ut hunc etiam fidelem et dilectum nostrum subditum RODULPHUM CLAYTON ejusque caussam vestræ serenitati commendaremus. Nobis quidem cognitum et isthic satis exploratum est, in quas angustias, altero superiori anno, is cum nave ac fortunis suis sub vestro imperio incidit. Postulabatur gemini criminis, quum se utriusque culpa vacare plane comprobaverit. Primum, quod vectigali non soluto, stationem vestram Oresundianam sit transvectus; dein, quod hostem vestrum certorum commodorum subsidio juverit. De vectigali, cheirographum ipsius, qui portorio vestro isthic præest, pro cautione sua habet; quum vis et injuria et inhumanitas, qua Sueci illum misere exagitarunt, ipsum ab altera noxa plane eximant. Res enim ratione nulla nitebatur, ut is, fallendo vestros et favendo Suecis, dubii commodi incerta spe, in apertam quum rerum omnium jacturam, tum vitæ discrimen se suasque fortunas conjiceret. Quum hoc ita esse, primum vestri consiliarii, dein vestra serenitas, plane cognoverit, primo quoque tempore, justo judicio, et summa æquitate, voluntate, bona gratia, et expresso mandato vestræ serenitatis, et subditus noster e custodia liberatur, et

merces ejus omnes illi restituuntur; sic ut quum is domum in Angliam redierit, fuse et prolixe quum vestræ serenitatis summam gratiam et bonitatem, tum vestrorum consiliariorum in cognoscendo prudentiam, in statuendo æquitatem, in expediendo se suumque illud negotium, magnam humanitatem passim prædicaverit. Et hæc ipse de sua et libertate et mercium restitutione. At vero quum navis ejus, ab omni apparatu et victualium, et armamentorum bene instructa et munita, vestræ serenitatis nomine, auctoritate, et mandato, ad serviendum in bello vestro, cum reliqua vestra classe adhibita sit: in quo vestro servitio periit illa navis, ut ad nos allatum est; propterea RODOLPHUS CLAYTON suppliciter a nobis nostram commendationem, et nos libenter a vestra serenitate parem vestram, et gratiam, et æquitatem expetimus; pro justa, et plena hujus navis satisfactione, quam ante vestra serenitas sua sponte, recto judicio, et innata sua bonitate, in illo homine liberando, et bona ejus illi reddendo, summa vestra cum laude palam omnibus innotescere voluerat. Caussam hanc, tam apertæ æquitatis plenam, apud vestram serenitatem æquissimum principem paucis attingere, non acrius urgere, æquum esse censemus. Qua in re, paratam potius nostram commendandi voluntatem ostendi, quam magnam ullam postulandi necessitatem requiri, vestræ serenitatis bonitas facile judicabit. Deus, etc. Primo Junii, 1567.

LXXXV.—TO D. E. BILDE (4, 64).

For the queen. Thanks the admiral for aiding R. Clayton, and begs him to aid him further in getting compensation for his ship; and refers to his last letter: both letters are of the same date. [June 1, 1567].

Amplissimo et clarissimo Domino D. E. Bilde, Daniæ

magno admirallo, amico carissimo—Pro Rodolpho Clayton.—Amplissime et clarissime Domine. RODOLPHUS CLAYTON famulus meus, e Dania nuper reversus in Angliam, se, in sua quam isthic est perpessus duriori fortuna, tua inprimis bonitate, ope, et gratia levatum fuisse, libenter frequentique suo sermone commemorat. Et quanquam sponte tua, et innata quadam omnes juvandi voluntate hoc feceris, tamen postquam meum famulum illum esse cognoveris, in meam quoque gratiam, uti ille refert, multo libentius et studiosius opem et bonitatem tuam in illo e carcere liberando, et suas res ei restituendo, ostendisti. Idem jam in Daniam revertitur, cum literis serenissimæ nostræ principis, ad serenissimum regem Daniæ, pro satisfactione navis suæ, quæ regis vestri nomine et jussu, ad serviendum illi una cum reliqua sua classe, adhibita est: in quo servitio navis, uti ad nos allatum est, periit. Itaque, primum, uti par est, gratias libenter ago, pro illo tuo superiori, et mihi pergrato officio, et meo famulo admodum opportuno et optato subsidio. Dein impense rogo, ut, quod tua sponte tam benigne ante in juvando famulo meo susceperis, hoc jam meo rogatu ad felicem exitum perducere digneris. Ac vicissim ipse diligenter curabo, ut tui, quorum res hoc postulabit, tuo etiam rogatu, parem humanitatem in Anglia, pari favoris mei præsidio aliquando experiantur. Felicissime valeat amplitudo tua.

LXXXVI.—TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL (A, 6).

Asking him to procure the queen's release of a debt, &c., and saying that the state of his health does not allow him to hope for a long life. June 8, 1567.

SIR,—I am not afraid to desire that of you, which

you never yet said me nay of, and that is to be my friend, in necessary, just, and I trust a very easy matter. For the thing is so far forward, that it is granted before it be asked. I ask nothing now to be given, but to enjoy that which is already given. Sir, you know best, that by your only motion, and the queen's goodness, her majesty at Windsor did help me to redeem my lease of Salisbury Hall, which lay in pawn for certain debt, that I entered in, for my good mother in law, and God in heaven knoweth that that money was not then craftily borrowed, that after I might more craftily beg. But I minding nothing more, than fully to answer it, and speedily to repay ti, for a sure sign of my true meaning therein, I brought my lease to SIR RICHARD SACKVILE, not to be a surety, but to be a witness of my debt; which thing to do, neither the queen, nor you, nor he required at my hand, but only two or three lines in writing to specify the sum that I have received. I never opened my mouth myself, I never made suit by others, neither by you, nor by my L[*ord*] of L[*eicester*] to have the queen forgive one penny thereof: but out of hand I sent my man into Camb'-shire to HENRY COLTON, sometime SIR JOHN CHEKE'S man, to sell unto him my lease of Wicklyfourd parsonage, left unto me by my g[*ood*] m[*other*] in law, thereby to repay the queen's money again. My man and CALTON entered terms of price, order, place, and time for the receipt of money for me, and assurance for him; a certain day, at a certain place was appointed at London. I asked licence first of you and after of the queen to go. Her highness asked me why I would go to London, the heat of the plague being then not fully quenched. I said to sell a little living, to pay her money. She most graciously smiling said unto

me, Ah, fool, fool, I did not let you have that money to take it again: keep your living still, sell it not, for livings be not easy to come by, I will take order with Sackvile for it. My lord of Leicester heard it, and most courteously of his own good will did write a letter to Mr Ousley, requiring him that by his good advise and counsel, as far as right, equity, and conscience would afford, I should not be compelled to sell away my living. And so Mr Ousley by law offered such a band for me, as Calton and his council would not venture to pay their money for it. They thought, that I, as common sellers of livings commonly do, to receive present money, would have offered my bands. But the queen's goodness, and Mr Ousley's wisdom had quite altered the case, for the needy seller was now more unwilling to receive than the greedy buyer to pay any present money. And by this means, and this order, do I enjoy that poor living still. Since that time Sir Richard Sackvile hath at times put her majesty in remembrance for some special discharge of that debt. She hath always most gently said, "I will discharge it; let no man trouble him for it: I am sure Askam hath no mistrust of it;" and being weary, and loth to sign many things at once, hath ever deferred it to another time. For Sir Richard Sackvile caused Fanshaw of the exchequer to make an orderly pardon for the release of that money, and when he was in most sure hope to have it signed, God took him away, and so at this day, my lease and that pardon together be in Mr Thomas Sackvile's keeping. My suit therefore is to your goodness; first to call into your hands the lease and the pardon, (for it is no reason that Mr Thomas Sackvile, being no common officer of the prince, should have my lease in keeping; and also he of himself is very willing to deliver it unto you, or

to whom it shall please you,) then as your wisdom shall think good, or opportunity shall serve you, and your wonted good will towards me shall move you to do, as you have done, always so do for me with the queen, that some order may be taken in this matter as I may have my lease in mine own hand, and that I may have, either some special pardon and discharge of that money, as her majesty herself of her mere goodwill hath many times promised me, or else some special order, that I may pay it myself, so as no one payment at once be over-heavy for my small living to bear. The matter, as it now lieth, grieveth me many times and oft, and surely a certain pain were more easy than a feared mischance. I must die, and cannot live long, and even this last week I was in some danger. And if I were gone, how this money would trouble my poor wife and children, my fear and care is now great. I stay and comfort myself by the queen's goodness, as a good man in SOPHOCLES doth counsel ELECTRA to do by her brother ORESTES' aid. And although ELECTRA, whom sorrow and long driving off, had made both doubtful and desperate, answered with more fear than hope: yet do I, misliking ELECTRA's womanish fear, and following the wise man's counsel in the next verse, think plainly thus. But to conclude shortly, and as I think and hope, and look for: in the end, you are he, to whom I must say, as ŒDIPUS in SOPHOCLES also doth gladly and with a thankful mind say to noble THESEUS:

ἔχω γὰρ ἄχω διά σε κοὐκ ἄλλον βροτῶν.

[Œd. Col. 1129.]

And in this verse saying all I neither can or need say more, but leave me and mine wholly to stay ourselves upon your goodness and wisdom. And God send you

and yours that comfort, that I and mine do wish and hope by God's motions to have at your hand. 8 Junii, 1567. Your honor's at commandment, R. A.

LXXXVII.—TO QUEEN ELIZABETH (w, 276).

In this letter Ascham humorously divides his idea of the queen into two, and asks her, in one personality as his friend, to intercede with her other personality, as queen, to relieve him from his difficulties. Oct. 10, 1567.

Most excellent prince, my best lady and mistress, —May it please your highness: a double duty I owe to your majesty,—all faithful obedience to your highness, my whole heart and goodwill for your singular goodness; the first as my sovereign over many other, the second as my dearest mistress above all other; for you are no more my sovereign by your authority, than you are and have been always my best mistress by your goodness. Yet, as I daily wish and pray that you may long and long remain both highest sovereign and greatest friend unto me, so for this time of reading of this letter, I humbly beseech your majesty to imagine that your highness were absent in some withdrawing-chamber, and your goodness only present to read the same; for I write now not as to the queen to make any suit, but as to my dearest friend to ask some counsel in a suit I would fain make to the queen. But surely I will make no suit to her highness before I ask counsel of her goodness; if you mislike it, I will not follow; if your goodness allow of it, her highness will grant it. So will I have your goodness only ask it, or else I will surely go without it; and that because I would only be bound to her highness and your goodness, and to none other person for it; no, not those two my greatest and best friends, my noble

Lord of LEICESTER and good Mr Secretary CECILL, greatest in authority, and best in goodwill to do any good thing for me; but only your goodness shall obtain it of her highness, or else it shall never be mine. And as for my suit, it shall neither be unreasonable for your goodness to ask, nor great for her highness to grant, nor intolerable to any other person; it shall not be to enrich myself now, but only to leave some comfort to my good wife and children hereafter; and your goodness may speak willingly, and ask boldly for me, for her highness hath promised already, as my good Lady STAFFORD heard, both courteously to hear and gladly to grant unto me and my children any fit and reasonable suit, which if it be liked and allowed by your wisdom, then helped forward by your goodness, of the good success thereof at her highness' hands I make no doubt at all.

My suit, with the occasion that moveth me to make it, and the necessity that driveth me to ask it is this:—I wrote once a little book of shooting; King HENRY, her most noble father, did so well like and allow it, as he gave me a living for it; when he lost his life I lost my living; but noble King EDWARD again did first revive it by his goodness, then did increase it by his liberality; thirdly, did confirm it by his authority under the great seal of England, which patent all this time was both a great pleasure and profit to me, saving that one unpleasant word in that patent, called "during pleasure," turned me after to great displeasure; for when King EDWARD went, his pleasure went with him, and my whole living went away with them both. But behold God's goodness towards me, and his providence over me, in Queen MARY, her highness' sister's time, when I had lost all, and neither looked nor hoped for any thing again, all my friends being under

foot, without any labour, without my knowledge I was suddenly sent for to come to the council. I came with all will, and departed with much comfort, for there I was sworn secretary for the Latin tongue, because some of them knew that King EDWARD had given me that office when I was absent in Germany, by good Mr Secretary's procurement, and because some did think I was fitter to do that office than those were that did exercise it. When I saw other so willing to do for me, I was the bolder somewhat to speak for myself. I saw WINCHESTER did like well the manner of my writing; I saw also that he only was *Dominus regit me* that time. I told him that my patent and living for my Book of Shooting was lost. Well, said he, cause it to be written again, and I will do what I can. I did so; and here I will open to your majesty a pretty subtlety in doing happily a good turn to myself, whereat perchance your majesty will smile; for surely I have laughed at it twenty times myself, and that with good cause, for I have lived somewhat the better for it ever since. I caused the same form of the patent to be written out, but I willed a vacant place to be left for the sum. I brought it so written to the bishop: he asked me why the old sum was not put in. Sir, quoth I, the fault is in the writer, who hath done very ill beside, to leave the vacant place so great, for the old word *ten* will not half fill the room, and therefore surely, except it please your lordship to help to put in twenty pounds, that would both fill up the vacant place well now and also fill my purse the better hereafter, truly I shall be put to new charges in causing the patent to be new written again. The bishop fell in a laughter, and forthwith went to Queen MARY and told what I had said, who, without any

more speaking, before I had done her any service, of her own bountifull goodness made my patent twenty pounds by year during my life, for her and her successors. I have oft told this tale to many of my friends, for I think it a part of honesty to say well of them that have been so willing to do well for others. Some that have heard me tell this have said unto me, Surely seeing King HENRY, King EDWARD, and Queen MARY, to whom you were scarce known, to whom you had done no service except in teaching King EDWARD to write, were so beneficial to grant, to augment, to confirm this living unto you, we are sure that Queen ELIZABETH, as every one of them three did always better one another, so she alone hath bettered them all, or else the fault is in yourself not speaking, and not in her majesty for not doing the same; and surely it is both a folly in you and an injury to her goodness, that through your own fault your Book of Shooting should be more bound to any other prince for divers causes than to her majesty. I answer my friends thus:—It is mine own folly indeed, for nature hath made me so loath to ask as no opportunity could ever make me to be bold, nor no necessity yet drive me to crave it. It is rather my grief to want myself than to wail to any other. It is my greater desire to satisfy by good will than to trouble with bold and busy suits; for in so many fair years and days spent and past in the presence of my prince, I never opened my mouth to utter any suit to make myself rich, except it were for venison to make my friend merry; but behold, on the other side, her majesty's goodness and bounty, who hath given unto me many and great benefits, greater than I can deserve, and always given by her before they be asked by me; for as her goodness exceedeth

far my desert, so her benefits prevent ever my suits; and therefore it is my chance always to be bound to give her thanks before I have need to make request unto her, and so I find always true that which her majesty hath said many times unto me,—the less I speak the more she will do; the more I seem to forget myself, the readier she will be to remember both me and mine. Well, saith one of my best and wisest friends, you say well; but if the queen did not a great deal better, both you should do very ill now, and yours ever ill hereafter; but if you did consider your own case as you should, you would do otherwise therein than you do. You do not now live to yourself: God hath sent you a good wife and many fair children. You are well stepped into years; your wife is young, your children all within the years of innocence, so not able to speak, not able to go, and one (though shortly) not yet born; and I have heard you oft say, if you now died, all the livings the prince hath given you do die with you, and how yours shall then live, if you do not consider and help now, they may lament too late hereafter. You are not sure yourself, nor very like, by wise men's judgment, to live very long; but sure I am of this, wheresoever you die, if you die thus, you shall die an ill husband to your wife, and a worse father to your children. You know better than I, how St PAUL termeth them that be careless providers for their own family; indeed, they be of good natures that say least for themselves, but they be of worse natures that do nothing for their dearest friends: truly, in doing thus for good for yourself, you do over-much wrong to others, and over-great injury to the queen's majesty. Many wise and good men think, least [*unless*] you were careless thereof, she that is so rich in learning would never leave you

so poor in living. If you had served any other but the prince, the misery of you and yours were easy to be borne, and the note thereof less in men's eyes, and seldomer in men's talk than both now and hereafter it is like to be: and hereby as you purchase misery to yourself, so do you offer great injury to the queen, for surely you that have been so long so nigh to so good a prince, in asking all this while nothing of her highness is plainly to seem to mistrust her goodness. But do so no more, lest her majesty, who hath a head to decipher men's, either find you do so, or at least think you do, and so do nothing for you at all. If she had said you once nay, you might then be loather to speak; but seeing her goodness is such to give unto you before you do ask, surely she will never deny you that which shall be, first, reasonable for you to ask, and nothing out of her own way to grant. And though you be loath to ask anything for yourself, yet be not over-careless to ask something for your two sons GILES and DUDLEY, or else it were pity you were father of such two children; and seeing you have given me leave to say thus much, I will now take leave to say more. Do as I bid you, and ask what I shall will you, and if her goodness deny you, I will pay you yearly as much myself out of mine own purse as that is which I would her highness should grant you, which, if I should die, I should be never a whit the poorer at the year's end, for she shall give not one penny from herself, but only that that it would please her majesty to be contented that as her noble predecessors were good to you, so her successors likewise should be good to your children, that such small living as her predecessors gave unto you before, her successors should suffer your children to enjoy the same hereafter. If her goodness

grant, then shall you never miss, nor be never the poorer for it, and her majesty, in the meanwhile, shall never not one penny lose thereby into her coffers than she doth at this present, and that by this way, her predecessors gave you twenty pounds a year for your Book of Shooting, and twenty pounds a year also, with a little more, for your Secretaryship in the Latin tongue. Again, to pay to the queen twenty pounds a year for a little farm that Queen MARY gave you by lease, and eighteen pounds a year for a little parsonage that your mother-in-law left you and your wife. Be humble suitor to her highness thus to deal and change with you. Give you again to her highness that which her predecessors gave unto you, and beseech her majesty in price thereof to grant and give unto your two sons the little farm for the one, and the parsonage for the other, to find them a school when you are gone. You yourself have been brought up in good learning and in best service; yet if neither by your learning nor by your service you can be able to procure such two poor livings for two such pretty children, wise men shall judge you another day to have been neither wise by your learning nor happy by your service. I hear say you have written a book for the bringing up of your children, well commended by them that have seen it; but what is that to purpose, to teach them gay things how they shall learn, and leave them nothing how they shall live? You do well in the one; do as well in the other, and then shall your children find you first a wise father for their learning, then a happy father for their living thus left them; and though hereby you shall have no more in your own purse to spend yourself, yet shall you have more to your great comfort to leave to your children. On the

other side, the queen shall have a penny for a penny, yea, five-pence for a groat; and herein shall be all the difference, that as she found her predecessors good unto you, so shall she bind her successors to be good unto your children. And thus when the benefit of your Book of Shooting shall first be granted by good will by noble King HENRY, then confirmed during pleasure by good King EDWARD, after assured during life by Queen MARY, at last established longer life by most noble Queen ELIZABETH; then set out your Book of Shooting in print again, as many wish you should do, and in your preface let others understand what goodness you have received, particularly at these four most noble princes' hands, for the labour you took and service you did by your bow and your book; and when her majesty shall well weigh your suit, how necessary it is for you to ask, how reasonable it is for her to grant, yea, so reasonable as I believe my Lord Treasurer will not only allow it, but also further it, and be an earnest suitor for it. Surely I am of this opinion, that her goodness will grant more than you require, that is, freely to give you and yours as much as you ask, and not to take of you for that short time of life the poor livings that her predecessors gave unto you; which if she do, then shall you both live with less care and die with more comfort, when you shall leave your children so well provided for by so noble a prince. When my dear friend had given me this good advice, it sank so deep into my head as I could never since sleep well until I should impart the same unto your goodness; for this is the suit I would fain make to her highness, and this is the counsel I would gladly ask of your goodness, whether I may make this suit to her highness or not? Indeed, to make some suit to her

highness your goodness did give me most friendly counsel the other day, and now I bring, I trust, a reasonable suit, which, if it be allowed of your goodness, yet am I never more abashed to say anything, especially for myself, in the presence of her highness. It is your goodness only must do that for me without all kind of suit, that is, to bring to pass that her highness grant me my suit before I speak for it, before I know of it; therefore, if it may please your goodness to say but two words to her highness for me, as your goodness should truly say them, so her highness, I trust to God, will graciously hear them.

Most noble princess, time was when God and your own choice first did call him, and after did use him to do you much good for your learning: let time be that God and your good nature move you likewise to do him and his some comfort for their living, and do in time, for though your majesty shall have long and long time to do good to him and his, yet he is like to have no long time to ask for him and his. It is high time for him rather to enjoy somewhat than to ask any thing. He asketh not much; nothing for himself, but something for his children, and that shall be not to give any thing from yourself, but only to grant a little from your successors hereafter, even that which was given by your predecessors before. If your highness shall be thus gracious unto him, then shall he leave twenty pounds a year to either of his sons; a gift fully satisfying his desire, and yet, to say truth, a small portion as ever secretary to a prince did leave behind him. If he miss of this suit, some men will judge that he for some great fault in himself, for some disability in his service, is accounted not unlucky but unworthy to obtain and deserve this his suit; and

then, besides the inward grief of present misery, he shall sustain a note of open shame, both he himself now and his children hereafter, who had a father that was called to serve many years in good place, in weighty affairs, and no fault found in his service, and yet nothing obtained by him in his service to leave behind him to bring up his children; and the last word he said to me was this, and that he said with weeping eyes, I beseech your goodness tell her highness that if I be not so happy as to leave this poor living to my children, yet will I leave the copy of this poor letter unto them to bear witness with me in time to come, that although they had a father unfortunate to do them good, yet had they a father not unmindful to speak to do them good as much as lay [*in*] his power and learning to do. But weeping and ill weather be ill means to do anything well. Now, thanked be God, the weather was never fairer nor the time fitter for your goodness to speak to her highness for me, to do for me now as she hath done always before, that is, to bind me to thank her for her benefit before I come to trouble her with my suit. In God, in your goodness, and in this hope I do repose myself, as I trust to receive such answer by your goodness from her highness in this matter as shall glad my heavy heart, comfort my careful wife, sitting now at home weeping and praying for the good success of this my suit, and make happy my poor children for their good bringing up in virtue and learning, thereby to serve the better, God, their prince, and their country another day. God send your good majesty your own heart's desire. Your highness' most obedient subject, your goodness' most faithful servant,

R. ASKAM.

At Windsor, the tenth of October, 1567,
to the Queen's most sacred Majesty.

LXXXVIII.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 38).

Has written little or nothing to Ascham for two years. Tells him how *Royana Domina* troubles him about his debt. Send his letter by Gamatius, for whom he asks aid, and hopes for aid from Cooke and Hailes. Strasbourg.

Clarissimo viro, Domino Rogero Aschamo, Joannes Sturmius.—Mi ASCHAME, amabo te, ama me: et ignosce, quod toto hoc biennio vel nihil vel exiguum admodum ad te scripserim. Ita me ROYANA domina multos jam menses, imo annum et amplius, ære suo exercet alieno, ut omnino meæ literæ et musæ, non solum sileant, sed lugeant etiam. De hoc meo angore cognosces ex GAMATIO, qui has reddidit, item de cæteris meis rebus omnibus: ego tecum sum, quum hic erit tecum. Oro te, adsis ei apud eos ad quos misi, ut gratus sit atque acceptus. Sic enim illi recepi. Summam spem positam habeo in domino COOKO, et domino HALESIO: si tu excitator accesseris, non dubito quin facturi sitis, quo GAMATIUS noster receptum bonum habeat, ad reginam, dominum ROBERTUM DUDLÆUM, et dominum CECILLUM. JESUS CHRISTUS vos omnes defendat atque amplificet. Vale. Argentorati.

LXXXIX.—STURM TO SIR A. COOK (5, 13).

Recommends Gaspar Gamatius to Sir A. Cook, and makes allusion to other matters.

Joannes Sturmius D. Antonio Cooko S. P.—De mea erga te tuamque dignitatem voluntate et studio, tametsi ex TOXITE nostro intelliges aptius et copiosius quam ego queam perscribere, tamen istud in istis ponam literis, nullum esse neque patronorum neque amicorum meorum, quos habeo multos, cui tantum debeam, propter

multas et magnas significationes liberalitatis, quantum uni domino ANTONIO COOKO, et propterea omni illius stirpi atque genti. Caussam quamobrem venit oro ne negligas; posteaquam quæ sit ex regina intellexeris, ope tua adjuva. Obfuit Romano imperio, non omnia SIBYLLÆ fuisse empta volumina: sed tamen illud ausim asserere; si res habeatur tacita, non solum terrorem allaturam esse, sed effecturam quod profitetur, aut ego omni destitutus sum conjecturarum judicio. Periculum est in re parva; spes rei fructuosissimæ ac gloriosissimæ. Metæ regnorum extimescendæ sunt; nos certe ea metuimus. GASPARIS GAMATII negotium tibi commendo, hominis optimi, fortissimi atque constantissimi exulis: etiam quod me consolatur, omnes illius et BRUTI et CASSII, omnes inquam intermortui; solus ipse adhuc sperat liberos suos lares. Hac de caussa, vestram tum caussam voluit: oro ut in re parva adsis amico magno. Vale. Argentorati.

XC.—TO THE CITIZENS OF DANTZIC (4, 63).

For the queen. Has received their letters dated Dantzic, July 30: but their deeds do not agree with their words: she will use force to obtain what is right, but will first appeal to the justice of their King. Nov. 1, 1567.

Gedanensibus. Pro Regia Majestate. Magnifici, spectabiles amici perdilecti. Accepimus literas vestras tricesimo Julii Gedani datas: quæ vestræ literæ si quantam observantiam erga nos ipsæ præ se ferunt, tantam æquitatem erga nostros vos ipsi repræsentaretis, multo acceptiores nobis fuissent; sed speciosa verba, factis injuriosis, nec belle respondent, nec recte satisfaciunt. Quum hæc dicitis, alia facitis: rebus non

verbis nos fidem adjungimus. Scribendo nihil proficimus: agendo aliquid tentabimus. Quod ratio non impetrat, vis obtinebit. Sed, quum serenissimi regis vestri, justissimi principis, carissimi fratris nostri, eam quam par est rationem habemus, quid ille de hoc negotio statuerit, prius explorare volumus. Quanquam nos malumus atque adeo optamus, ut vos vestra potius sponte quam alterius jussu recte faceretis. Id quod si adhuc faciatis et nobis satis et vobis utiliter facietis. Bene valeatis. Primo Novembris, 1567.

XCI.—STURM TO SIR ANTONY COOK (5, 39).

Congratulates him on his recovering his health. Asks him to join Cecil in helping to procure Gasmar Gamatius his due, and release Sturm from suretyship.

Strasbourg, Jan. 30.

Clarissimo viro, Domino Antonio Cooko, Joannes Sturmius.—Ego patrem meum mihi restitutum putavi, quum audiremus te esse restitutum: valetudini dico? imo vitæ. Diem enim te tuum obiisse, et auditum et scriptum fuit, idque credebat doctor noster MONTIUS. Nisi blandiri me putares, mitterem tibi epitaphium, quod tum cum lachrymis conficiebam, nunc cum lætitia recordor. Gaudeo igitur nobis, et regno Angliæ gratulor: quid enim dicam, me tibi lætari? qui non potes hanc vitam cum deteriore commutare, propter religionem et sanctitatem tuam. Sed de hoc verborum est satis: tametsi non satis sit gaudii atque lætitiæ. Venio ad caussam amici GASPARIS GAMATII. Is mihi illum architectum comparaverat: quem ad legatos vestros Cammersium miserat. Dedit abeunti quadraginta quinque coronatos; ego fide jussi, et spospondi: jam repetit, et meo quidem judicio,

merito. Caussae quid fuerit non dubito quin ex GUILHELMO ROSTOENO, quem mihi commendabas proficiscentem in Burgundiam, cognoveris. Si pax non coisset, attulisset vobis caedam ἀπόρρητα non negligenda. Quanquam puto eum obiisse: nondum enim reversus est, et uxor GAMATIO est molesta: quae Barre in finibus Lothariingicis habitat. Oro ut cum genero tuo domino CECILIO agas, quo GASPARUS habeat suum, et ego sponsione liberer. Quanquam ea tua et virtus et doctrina et sapientia est, et erga me tua studia ac merita, ut si praestandum mihi damnum sit, existimaturus sim neque ignoraturus plura me tibi debere, qui meus patronus es, et ego tuus beneficiarius, multis et magnis acceptis beneficiis, nullo adhuc compensato beneficio, ne quidem officio ullo, nisi studii, benevolentiae, observantiae, pietatis. Vale. Argentorati, XXX Januarii.

XCIII.—QUEEN ELIZABETH TO STURM (1566).

Compliments him on his learning, and refers to Christopher Mount for further declaration of her good will by word of mouth.

Serenissima Elizabetha, Angliae et Hibernia Regina Joanni Sturmio.—Amice perdilecte, de praestanti tua doctrina, pariterque religionis studio, ex libris tuis intelligimus. De tuo item multiplici rerum usu atque prudentia, ex sermone multorum accepimus: accepimus etiam, (id quod libenter quidem accepimus) magnate et observantia nos et benevolentia nostros jam diu esse prosequutum. Te igitur de hac tua eruditione, et religionis cultu, rerum usu observantia erga nos, et benevolentia erga nostros amore judicio, et bona nostra gratia prosequimur. Quod nostrum erga te studium, non sermone aut benevolentia ostendere, sed

re atque beneficio repræsentare cogitamus. De quo nostro animo, CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS, præsenti suo sermone, sed nostris verbis, plura et fusius tecum communicaturus est. Viam ergo studiorum atque etiam consiliorum, quam es feliciter ingressus, constanter persequere, et nos te in cursu tuo non solum benevole incitare, sed benigne etiam deinceps promovere, magis magisque studebimus. Bene valeas, etc.

XCIII.—CIRLER TO ASCHAM (5,40).

He reminds Ascham of former times, when Frederic the Count Palatine had invited him to dinner, and when Cirler had been his host. Heidelberg, Feb. 16, 1568.

Clarissimo viro, D. Rogero Aschamo, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ Secretario, Stephanus Cirlerus.—Credo te memoria tenere, quum post bellum Mauritianum hac iter faceres cum quodam legato Anglico, atque a meo principe piæ memoriæ, FRIDERICO secundo, comite Palatino Rheni electore, in arcem ad prandium vocatus fuisses, me te per ædificia visu digna duxisse officiumque amici præstitisse. Id enim humanitas morum et polita doctrina merebatur. Ab eo tempore, nomen ROGERI ASCHAMI semper mihi carum fuit. Quia vero IMMANUEL noster ad vos proficiscitur, quem tibi notum esse scio, volui has, tanquam testes mei erga te amoris, illi committere, ex quo præsentem rerum nostrarum statum intelliges. Cui in reditu aliquid literarum ad nos dabis. Valde enim tuis scriptis mira puritate, et ornatu conditis delector. Beabis me, si scriptori Anglico, pio, prudenti, polito et facundo, meam bibliothecam locupletabis. Erit id nunquam intermorituræ amicitiæ. Bene vale. Heidelbergæ, XVI Februarii, Anno 1568.

XCIV.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 30).

Speaks of his pupils entrusted to Ascham; says he has taken on himself the whole of Sevenus's debt; speaks of the wife and children of Sevenus, and of Ascham's son named Sturm. Strasburg, May 1, 1568.

Joannes Sturmius D. Rogero Aschamo, S.P.—CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS mihi superioribus diebus dixit: Londinensem episcopum graviter ægrotare, et periculum mortis esse. Doleo profecto, quum ipsius viri caussa, tum etiam propter publicum detrimentum tanti viri; atque etiam meorum pupillorum nomine, quos tibi, mi ASCHAME, commendavi, et qui tibi curæ sunt, ut ex illius literis intellexeram. Si igitur vivit adhuc et bene valet, lætor et sua et omnium pupillorum meorum gratia, quam divinitus concessam agnosco. Sin diem suum obiit, oro te tamen ut curam pupillorum meorum non deponas, et pergas peragere quod reliquum est, et mihi significes quid effectum sit, et quid spei sit reliquum. Ego certe totum illud æs Sevenianum in me recepi; sed tamen in eo persolvendo, spero mihi adjutores fore deos; hoc est, viros bonos, quos libenter nominarem, si non viderer aut adulari illis velle, aut eos voto meo obstringere officio humanitatis. Domino COOKO, domino HALESIO cæterisque patronis literarum et meis, verbis meis veneranter, oro, salutem dicito. Non scribis an vivat et ecquid vivat STURMIUS ASCHAMUS. Sed neque de aliis rebus scribis; scribe aliquid magni, id est læti, ut ne ipse scribam tibi; tibi inquam, non aliis, desidiosus homo es. Si miraris, cur in amici SEVENI caussam me conjecerim, in dispendium mearum rerum: neque Condianum æs alienum vetus persolutum est, et ad illud hoc bello adjeci duodecim millia florenorum, quos accepi mutuo a negotiatoribus, qui plus fidei habent fidei meæ, quam rei domesticæ. Is-

tud fatum meum est, hac ætate devexa mea, alienis cruciatibus cruciari. SEVENI vidua omnem spem in tuo patrocinio et fide positam habet; ego in tuo et bonorum virorum: obsecro adeste vos pauperibus et egenis pupillis, sed si commodo vestro queat fieri: nisi enim absque hoc foret, malo meo non fieri, commodo, sed incommodo persolvi quod debetur. Vale, mi optatissime ASCHAME, et saluta meis verbis omnes eos, quos tu salvos esse vis et optas.—Argentorati, Calend. Maii, 1568.

CHRISTOPHORUS MONTIUS hæc in fine hujus epistolæ carmina attexuit.

Frigida qui gelidæ præbet modo pocula lymphæ,
Ex minimis uni, qui mea verba colit:
Haud mercede sua frustrabitur ille profecto,
Sed feret officii præmia digna sui.

XCV.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 31).

Says that in a letter to Mount, apparently written by Sevenus, it is said that Ascham promises to send the money before he writes to Sturm again; says that he will send what he is dictating about Oratorical Imitation, in order to have his judgment thereon. Strasburg, July 26, 1568.

Joannes Sturmius D. Rogero Aschamo.—In epistola quadam ad Doctorem MONTIUM scripta, legi non prius scripturum te ad me, quam pecuniam queas mittere: quid dico pecuniam? eleemosynam inquam SEVENI hæredibus, uxori viduæ, et liberis multis. Lætor horum nomine, et tibi gratiam habeo, de hoc tuo studio, et bonitate hac tua. Ego me obstrinxi omnibus creditoribus: sperans tua prudentia et benignitate solvi et liberari hoc nexu posse. Nullum etiam mihi dubium est de cæteris heroibus vestris, domino COOKO, domino HALESIO, et cæteris qui SEVENUM patrem nove-

runt. Sed etiam si non statim corrogari poterit quod petimus; tamen oro te, ne desinas ad me scribere; hoc est, intermissam multorum annorum scriptionem revoces, et nos inter nos mutuis literis salutemus et consolemur. Esset mihi tamen quam gratissimum, posse me aliquando liberari hac creditorum importunitate. De rebus novis nihil possum scribere, quia nos pol antiquum obtinemus, et expectamus, donec proximus ardeat paries. Ego meis jam dicto sententiam meam de imitatione oratoria, nescio an tibi placitura sit quum leges. Si placebit, mittam tibi quæ dictata sunt, ut tuum judicium præcognoscam. Bene vale, mi ASCHAME. Argentorati, XXVI Julii, 1568.

XCVI.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 32).

Asks if his little godson is alive—sends his letter by Citolini.

Strasburg, Oct. 1, 1568.

Johannes Sturmius Rogero Aschamo.—Mi ASCHAME, quid profilius meus STURMIUS tuus, vivitne? atque ecquid vivit? et quænam de illo spes literarum? nunquid patri similis? nam ut propatri similis sit, precari non ausim nec volo; volo enim esse meliorem. Utinam eos annos haberet, ut CITOLINUM nostrum queat intelligere, qui hasce reddidit: et quem tibi etiam atque etiam commendo maximopere. Cognosces ex hoc uno viro ea omnia, quæ a me scire potuisses, si istic fuissem, sed longe plura atque majora. Aperiet se tibi: oro et obsecro adsis ei consilio tuo, ut nequid peccet in mores, et ordines hominum. Nosti nostra ingenia, qui musas colimus liberas; utile nobis est a vobis aulicis erudiri. Non jocor, si ullum unquam tempus fuit, caussa ulla, vir ullus, in quo tuam mihi benevolentiam voluisti declarare, oro te declara huic

viro, et hoc tempore, et in hoc negotio, illius, meo, et reipublicæ vestræ, aliorum omnium. Peterem ista pluribus abs te, si de tua voluntate dubitarem: sed plane non dubito. Itaque concludam epistolam. Vale, mi domine ASCHAME, una cum uxore, profilio, totaque familia, amicis, bonisque viris omnibus. Argentorati, calendis Octobris, 1568.

XCVII.—TO HIS WIFE (w, 289).

A letter of condolence at the death of his son [Sturm Ascham ?].
[About Nov. 1568].

Mine own good MARGARET; The more I think upon your sweet babe, as I do many times both day and night, the greater cause I always find of giving thanks continually to God for his singular goodness bestowed at this time upon the child, yourself, and me, even because it hath rather pleased him to take the child to himself into heaven, than to leave it here with us still on earth. When I mused on the matter as nature, flesh, and fatherly fantasy did carry me, I found nothing but sorrows and care, which very much did vex and trouble me, but at last forsaking these worldly thoughts, and referring me wholly to the will and order of God in the matter, I found such a change, such a cause of joy, such a plenty of God's grace towards the child, and of his goodness towards you and me, as neither my heart can comprehend, nor yet my tongue express the twentieth part thereof.

Nevertheless, because God and good will hath so joined you and me together as we must not only be the one a comfort to the other in sorrow, but also partakers together in any joy, I could not but declare unto you what just cause I think we both have of

comfort and gladness by that God hath so graciously dealt with us as he hath. My first step from care to comfort was this, I thought God had done his will with our child, and because God by his wisdom knoweth what is best, and by his goodness will do best, I was by and by fully persuaded the best that can be is done with our sweet child, but seeing God's wisdom is unsearchable with any man's heart, and his goodness unspeakable with any man's tongue, I will come down from such high thoughts, and talk more sensibly with you, and lay open before you such matter as may be both a full comfort of all our cares past, and also a just cause of rejoicing as long as we live. You well remember our continual desire and wish, our nightly prayer together, that God would vouchsafe to us to increase the number of this world; we wished that nature should beautifully perform the work by us; we did talk how to bring up our child in learning and virtue; we had care to provide for it, so as honest fortune should favour and follow it. And see, sweet wife, how mercifully God hath dealt with us in all points, for what wish could desire, what prayer could crave, what nature could perform, what virtue could deserve, what fortune could afford, both we have received, and our child doth enjoy already. And because our desire (thanked be God) was always joined with honesty, and our prayers mingled with fear, and applied always to the world too, the will and pleasure of God hath given us more than we wished, and that which is better for us now than we could hope to think upon; but you desire to hear and know how marry, even thus, we desired to be made vessels to increase the world, and it hath pleased God to make us vessels to increase heaven, which is the greatest

honour to man, the greatest joy to heaven, the greatest spite to the devil, the greatest sorrow to hell, that any man can imagine. Secondarily, when nature had performed what she would, grace stepped forth and took our child from nature, and gave it such gifts over and above the power of nature, as where it could not creep in earth by nature it was straitway well able to go to heaven by grace. It could not then speak by nature, and now it doth praise God by grace; it could not then comfort the sick and careful mother by nature, and now through prayer is able to help father and mother by grace; and yet, thanked be nature, that hath done all she could do, and blessed be grace that hath done more and better than we would wish she should have done. Peradventure yet you do wish that nature had kept it from death a little longer, yea, but grace hath carried it where now no sickness can follow, nor any death hereafter meddle with it; and instead of a short life with troubles on earth, it doth now live a life that never shall end with all manner of joy in heaven.

And now, Margaret, go to, I pray you, and tell me as you think, do you love your sweet babe so little, do you envy his happy state so much, yea, once to wish that nature should have rather followed your pleasure in keeping your child in this miserable world, than grace should have purchased such profit for your child in bringing him to such felicity in heaven? Thirdly, you may say unto me; if the child had lived in this world, it might have come to such goodness by grace and virtue as might have turned to great comfort to us, to good service to our country, and served to have deserved as high a place in heaven as he doth now. To this, in short, I answer, ought we not in all things to submit to God's good will and pleasure, and

thereafter to rule our affections, which I doubt not but you will endeavour to do? And therefore I will say no more, but with all comfort to you here, and a blessing hereafter, which I doubt not but is prepared for you. Your dearly loving husband, ROGER ASKAM.

To my dear wife, Mrs Margaret Askam, these.

XCVIII.—STURM TO ASCHAM (5, 34).

Sends a copy of his letter to Sir Antony Cook. Begs Ascham to take interest in the cause of the wife and children of his friend, and to communicate with John Hales.

Strasburg, Dec. 16, 1568.

Domino Rogero Aschamo Johannes Sturmius.—Mitto tibi exemplum epistolæ nostræ ad dominum ANTONIUM COOKUM: velim te novisse hominem, pro cujus nos uxore et liberis scribimus. Fuit mihi arctissima familiaritate annos triginta conjunctissimus. Adesses igitur etiam tu, inquis, qui alios adesse velis: certe adfui, et adsum, mediocri subsidio, non recuso tantum dare quantum quivis, imo dedi, et sciunt multi, etiam magistratus noster scit. Oro te sis nobis tu noster procurator, stator, protutor; et consilium cape cum domino HALESIO, cui importunus esse non audeo in hac sua molestia: cujus partem ego libenter ferrem, si mihi eam posset imponere. Sed novi constantiam viri. Sermones meos Aristotelicos recognosco, post nonum, imo bis nonum annum. Placent multa; quædam requiro εὐπρεπέστερα. In his, spero, loquar vobiscum post meam vitam, quæ finem minatur sexagenario; neque pontem extimesco; et velim me defunctum vitæ oneribus. MORESINUS quia mortuus, valde me delectat, loquens in hisce sermonibus: sed ecce caussam amici reliqueram. Oro te recrea me tuis literis: quum me

dico, intelligo uxorem hominis amicissimi, liberos carissimos; cineres intelligo demortui viri, boni, docti, multorum virorum magistri, qui adhuc vivunt, quibus gratissimum vestrum futurum est beneficium. Vale, mi ASCHAME: de profilio meo nihil scribere audeo: metuo ne tuis acciderit, quod meis accidit liberis: sed æterna fruuntur felicitate. Salve, vale; vale, salve; vale, mi ASCHAME. Argentorati, xvi Decembris 1568.

XCIX.—ASCHAM TO STURM (1, 1).

Says he will do what he can about the money—his son Sturm is dead—he is writing his Schoolmaster for the use of his other two sons—about his Schoolmaster, Cicero, Demosthenes, &c., and books generally. [About Dec. 1568].

Rogerus Aschamus Cantabrigiensis D. Joanni Sturmio S. P.—De SEVENIANO nomine quod rogas ut faciam, faciam libenter et perstudiose; et effecturum me aliquid plane spero. Pollicentur enim nonnulli, qui quum abundant et re et fide, fiet non dubito quod pollicentur. Non fuit tamen nihil, quod scripsit ille ad MONTIUM nostrum, me in animo habere, non ante literas ad te, quam pecuniam mittere: mittere enim quam promittere malebam; et te ac tuos, non promissi expectatione fovere, sed pecuniæ repræsentatione aliqua ex parte vobis satisfacere cupiebam. Et quo minus hoc jam factum sit, in causa plane est, quod illi longius absunt, qui ut spero libenter volunt, et ut scio commode possunt, atque ut æquum est merito etiam debent, ad hanc Συλογίαν contribuere. Intelligo nostros episcopos, qui duris suis temporibus passim in Germania, sed Argentorati potissimum, perhumaniter sunt accepti. Hi ad comitia parlamentaria, quum illa fuerint, frequentes convenient. Interea vero quanquam ipse

nullum nec tempus amittam, nec hominem prætermittam, in hoc promovendo negotio; tamen si auctoritas episcopi Londinensis, optimi viri et apud omnes nostros pergratiosi, cum mea in hac petendi ratione assiduitate conjuncta fuerit, nescio quid certe amplius expectandum erit. Et nosti, quam sapienter ille omnia, σύν τε δυ' ἐρχομένω, (Il. 10, 224). Literis igitur tuis hominem urge, ut una mecum hoc pium suscipiat officium. Ast quid dico urge? mone tantum, et pro illo ipse spondeo, non invitum trahes, sed jam euntem duces; et facies, quod ingeniosus ille poeta prudenter docuit,

> Qui monet, ut facias quod jam facis, ipse monendo
> Laudat, et hortatu comprobat acta suo.

Et de his hæc hoc tempore. Gratum est, mi STURMI, et mihi perjucundum, quod scribis *de Imitatione Oratoria*, tuis hoc tempore a te dictata. An mihi placitura sit, quæris? Mitte quæso, et quam primum mitte quæ dictata sunt: polliceris enim, et ipsa repræsentatione nihil exoptatius, nihil longius mihi existit. Meum judicium præcognoscere vis. Non mihi tantum sumo, mi STURMI, nec consilium libenter interpono. Sed meam, *de Imitandi Ratione*, sive opinionem quæ levis est, sive desiderationem quæ permagna est, satis quidem fuse, nimis fortasse audacter aperiam: et hæc mihi cogitanti subinde occurrit, quam verum illud sit, quod dicitur, "amicorum omnia esse communia:" non tam commodorum ac fortunæ, ut ego intelligo, mutua munera, quam animorum et voluntatis eadem studia; nec magis illa humanitatis et officiorum, quam nostra hæc doctrinæ atque literarum. Scribis tu *de Imitatione*, et ego nonnihil cogito de eodem argumento: sed tu absolute, eruditis jam ac viris; ego inchoate, rudibus adhuc et pueris. Et hoc quidem consilio. Sunt mihi duo filii, ÆGIDIUS et DUDLÆUS ASCHAMI: nam STUR-

MIUS ASCHAMUS vivit ille quidem, sed nunquam moriturus. Quum his meis filiis non illustrem fortunæ splendorem promittere possum, aliquem certæ doctrinæ cultum illis relinquere ipse cupio. Paro igitur illis *Præceptorem*, non illum foris sumptuosa mercede conducendum, sed rudi a me stylo domi jam delineatum. Formam ejus in duos includo libellos. Prior magnam partem ἠθικὸς est; alter disciplinabilis. Et quia meus hic *Præceptor* non e Græcia, non ex Italia accersitus, sed in hac barbara insula natus, et domi intra parietes meos altus est, propterea barbare, hoc est Anglice, loquitur. Sic enim sermo ejus convenienter quidem, et propior et proprior horum nostræ gentis morum est futurus; et nostris, non alienis; Anglis, non exteris scribo. Præterea officio, quod patriæ, quod literis, utriusque in me merito, jure quidem debeo, aliqua ex parte defunctus fuero, si hoc meo studio, studium in parentibus liberaliter fovendi, in eorum liberis alacriter discendi literas possit nonnihil excitari.

Sed est *Præceptor* hic meus non Cantabrigiensis, sed Vindesorius; Aulicus, non Academicus: ideoque non illustriorem aliquam ostentat doctrinam, sed mediocrem et nonnullum quoad potest ostendit usum. Neque tamen ipse sum tam nostræ linguæ inimicus, quin sentiam illam omnium ornamentorum, quum dictionis tum sententiarum, admodum esse capacem; et esse item hoc argumentum non tam aridum et exile, quin Anglice etiam ἀνθηρογραφεῖσθαι possit, si in artificem aliquem, qualis fuit CHECUS noster, et sunt adhuc apud nos, SMITHUS et HADDONUS, incidisset. At si quid fortasse boni in hoc tamen libello inerit, illud omne tibi, mi STURMI, acceptum est referendum; quæ enim scribo, studui certe ut essent omnia Sturmiana. Et

volo quidem, ut filii mei, per hoc a patre rudi more congestum et perquam humile vestibulum, in illustre illud et omni artificio perpolitum, STURMII gymnasium ingrediantur. Exstabit tamen aliquid, et eminens erit, in hoc meo σχολαστηρίῳ perpetuum nimirum perpetui mei et in te amoris et de te judicii testimonium.

Præceptor igitur hic meus satis habet, si viam recte muniat, et quasi per certos gradus, facilem paret adscensum ad sublimiories illas rite aperiendas fores Academiæ Sturminaiæ. Gradus sunt hi: primus, linguarum versio; non dico simplicem explicationem ignotæ linguæ, quæ in scholis quotidiana est, et ore præceptoris solum traditur; sed iteratam, et quasi reciprocantem duarum linguarum, utriusque utrobique vertendarum rationem: nimirum ut Græca Latine, et tum ut eadem ipsa Latina Græce denuo convertantur; justa commentatione et diligenti scriptione, cum proprio non alieno stilo semper adhibita. Et sic ego intelligo utile illud imprimis, et prudens consilium quum L. CRASSI in primo *de Oratore*, tum PLINII SECUNDI ad suum FUSCUM in septimo. Atque vix credibile est, ad quam excellentem quum Latine tum Græce intelligendi facultatem, ipse Divam nostram ELIZABETHAM, hac geminatæ conversionis ratione, scripto semper reddita, brevi tempore perduxi.

Sequuntur reliqui gradus, Paraphrasis, Metaphrasis, Epitome, Imitatio, Commentatio, Scriptio, et Declamatio. Per hos gradus *Præceptor* meus cautius et timidius, porrecta sua nonnunquam manu, discipulos suos deducit. Sunt enim hi gradus nonnihil lubrici, et facilis in illis est prolapsio, ni cautio et judicium adhibeatur. At quo feror? Næ ego temere nimis, qui, quum faciem tantum *Præceptoris* mei tibi ostendere volui, non solum cætera membra aperio et explico, sed interiora illa ejus

consilia et sensus omnes, nec prudenter nec pudenter effero. Sed quid, ni plane ac palam omnia ad te? Accipe igitur, quod dicere institui etiam de Imitatione.

In loco de Imitatione longiusculus est *Præceptor* meus. Fatetur se omnes fere et veteres et recentes, qui de Imitatione scripsere, cupide perlegisse: probare se multos, admirari vero neminem, præter unum STURMIUM. Aliqui certe recte, qui sint imitandi; sed quomodo instituenda sit ipsa imitandi ratio, solus docet STURMIUS. Itaque, si cum illa perfectione præceptorum, quæ in *Literata tua Nobilitate* et *Amissa dicendi Ratione* plenissime tradita sunt, copiam etiam exemplorum conjunxisses; quid præterea requirendum esset amplius, non video. Namque, ut in vitæ et morum, sic in doctrinæ et studiorum ratione omni, longe plus possunt exempla, quam præcepta. In illarum vero rerum sive arte, sive facultate, quæ sola imitatione perfici videntur, præcepta aut nullum aut perexiguum habent locum, quum exempla isthic vel solitaria plane regnant. Pictores, sculptores, scriptores hoc et prudenter intelligunt et perfecte præstant.

Atque ut oratores etiam in horum numero collocem movet nonnulla ratio, jubet quæ illa est QUINCTILIANI auctoritas: qui dicit, CICERONEM (nec CICERO de se hoc ipse tacet,) jucunditatem ISOCRATIS, copiam PLATONIS, vim DEMOSTHENIS effinxisse; et effingere, in imitatione necne propriam sedem habeat, omnes vident. Verum enimvero ostendere, et judicare solum, ubi hoc facit CICERO, mediocris diligentiæ, vulgaris et quotidiani est laboris. Hoc PERIONIUS, VICTORIUS, STEPHANUS, et alii in CICERONE: hoc MACROBIUS, HESSUS, et nuper diligentissime omnium FULVIUS URSINUS, in VIRGILIO: hoc accurate etiam CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, quinto στρωμάτων in veteribus Græcis scriptoribus attentavit.

Sed hi omnes perinde sunt, ut operarii et bajuli, qui, quum comportent materiam, deesse certe in opere faciundo non possunt, mercedem tamen ipsi perexiguam et laudem quidem non maximam promerentur.

Atqui docere perspicue et perfecte, qua ratione CICERO vel DEMOSTHENEM, vel PLATONEM imitatur; singularis, fateor, doctrinæ, summi judicii, et rarræ laudis existit. Sed hæc laus adhuc præceptionis tota propria est. Aliud volo, plus requiro. Opifex nobis et architectus opus est, qui separata conjungere, rudia perpolire, et totum opus construere, artificiosa ratione noverit. Et illud, mea certe opinione, hoc modo. "Hinc DEMOSTHENIS locum, illinc CICERONIS produci cupio. Tum, digito artificis me primum duci volo ad ea, quæ in utroque sunt aut eadem aut simillima. Deinde, quæ sunt in hoc addita et quo consilio; tum, quæ sunt ablata et quo judicio. Postremo quæ sunt commutata; et quo ac quam vario artificio; sive id in verborum delectu, sive in sententiarum forma, sive in membrorum circumductione, sive in argumentorum ratione consistat. Nec uno aut altero exemplo contentus ero. Numero multa, genere varia, ex PLATONE, ex ISOCRATE, ex DEMOSTHENE, et ex ARISTOTELE in libris rhetoricis, exempla expeto."

Patior *Præceptorem* parcum esse in præceptorum traditione, modo liberalem se et largum in exemplorum non solum productione, quod laboris est et diligentiæ, verum etiam tractatione, quod est doctrinæ et judicii, ostendat. Horum volumen, illorum paginam ipse requiro. Nec mihi molestum erit, si eadem via et ratione, CÆSAREM cum XENOPHONTE, SALLUSTIUM cum THUCYDIDE, LIVIUM cum POLYBIO, VIRGILIUM cum HOMERO, HORATIO cum PINDARO, et SENECAM etiam cum SOPHOCLE et EURIPIDE conjungat; nisi forsan satius erit

facere, quod hi prudenter faciunt, qui perfecte scribere volunt. Hærent enim hi, et defigunt se totos in uno et eo perfectissimo exemplo. Nec se vel distrahi ad varia vel deduci ad deteriora exempla libenter patiuntur. Tamen si carmen pangere vellem; nihil VIRGILIO divinius, nihil HORAEIO doctius mihi possum proponere. Sed ad dicendi facultatem, ipsum CICERONEM si non solum, certe potissimum volo. Et dari mihi exemplum cupio CICERONEM imitatorem, non imitatorem Ciceronis.

Equidem amplector unice CICERONIS imitationem: sed eam dico et primam ordine, et præcipuam dignitate, qua CICERO ipse Græcos; non qua LACTANTIUS olim, OMPHALIUS nuper, aut qua multo felicius quidam Itali, Galli, Lusitani, et Angli CICERONEM sunt secuti. Nam quisquis fuerit non solum diligens, sed etiam quum peritus doctrina, tum prudens judicio observator, quibus vestigiis insistit, et quos gradus facit ipse CICERO, dum Græcos sequitur, assequitur, aut præcurrit; et scienter animadvertit quibus in locis et qua ratione hic noster ipsis Græcis plerumque par, sæpissime superior evadit; is demum tuto, et recta via ad imitandum ipsum CICERONEM perveniet. Qui enim intelligenter videt, quomodo CICERO secutus est alios, perspiciet ille longe felicissime, quomodo ipse CICERO sit sequendus. Et propterea, non possum probare consilium Bartholomæi RICCII Ferrariensis, doctissimi licet viri; qui quum sic scripserit de recta imitandi ratione, ut quum a STURMIO discesseris, cæteris omnibus mea certe opinione anteponendus sit, (præcepta enim ejus omnia sunt STURMIANA, et ex tuis fontibus hausta atque derivata,) exempla tamen maluit LONGOLII ex CICERONE, quam CICERONIS ex PLATONE sibi proponere; et VIRGILII ex CATULLO, quam VIRGILII ex HOMERO producere. Hoc ille, bene quidem, sed non optime; ad aliquem fructum, non ad eximiam

laudem; ad nonnullam mediocritatem, non ad summam perfectionem instituit.

Si vero optarem ipse fieri alter CICERO, (et optare quidem nefas non est,) ut fierem, et qua ratione fierem, quem potius ad consilium mihi adhiberem, quam ipsum CICERONEM? Et, si ipse cuperem eo recta ire, quo CICERO ante felicissime pervenit, qua meliore via, quam ipsis ipsius CICERONIS vestigiis insisterem? Habuit ille quidem Romæ GRACCHOS, CRASSOS, ANTONIOS, rarissima ad imitandum exempla: sed exempla alia ipse alias quærit. Proprietatem Romanæ linguæ simul cum lacte Romæ, purissima ætate, ex ipso Latinitatis lætissimo flore hausit. Ille tamen sermonem illum Latinum suum divinum, superioribus non cognitum, posteris tam admirabilem, aliunde sumpsit; et alio modo quam Latino usu, quam Latina institutione, et auxit et aluit. Ille enim sermo non in Italia natus est, sed e Græcorum disciplina in Italiam traductus. Nec satis habuit CICERO, ut lingua ejus proprietate domestica casta esset, et ornata; nisi mens etiam Græcorum eruditione prudens efficeretur, et docta. Unde evenit, ut sola CICERONIS oratio inter reliquos omnes Romanos, qui illi ætate aut superiores, aut æquales, aut suppares fuere, non colore solum vernaculo pure tincta, sed raro et transmarino quodam plene imbuta, tam admirabiliter resplendesceret.

Itaque, quum ipsa lingua Latina, felicissimo suo tempore, in ipsa Roma, in ipso CICERONE, ad summam perfectionem sine Græca lingua non pervenit: cur quisquam in sola Latina quærit, quod CICERO ipse absque Græca non invenit? Et, quum nos sumus nec feliciores ingenio, nec prudentiores judicio, quam ipse CICERO fuit; cur temere speramus assequi, quod ille non potuit? Cur imprudenter contendimus eam viam inire, qua ipse in-

sistere noluit? præsertim quum hunc solum, aut hunc potissimum, tanquam summum ducem, sequendum esse ducimus. Et in re literaria, quum CICERONIS imprimis probamus judicium, cur ejus repudiaremus consilium? Quum prudenter illum de hac re semper dixisse, cur illum in eadem re recte fecisse non ingenue fateamur? Nisi forsan CICERO ipse, judicio quidem prudens, aliis tamen et inutilis consilio et ineptus exemplo plane esse videatur.

Itaque quemadmodum perspicue cognoscimus quid CICERO de hac re prudenter sæpe statuit, constanter semper docuit; ita nos libenter sequamur, quod ipse in eadem re felicissime fecit. Quas igitur CICERO linguas sibi re ipsa utiliter, aliis exemplo prudenter conjunxit; absit, ut nos vel separemus illas, quod est rudis imperitiæ; vel repudiemus alteram, quod est superbæ imprudentiæ. Nam in hac florere sine illa, cum summa aliqua laude, tam facile continget, quam sæpe usu eveniet, ut avis una ala cum pernicitate volare, aut vir uno pede cum velocitate currere possit. Ex omni enim seculorum memoria, sive ex lectione, sive ex auditione sive ex notitia, commemorare habeo solum unum aut alterum, qui absque Græcis literis, ad eximiam eloquentiæ laudem, in Latina lingua pervenerunt. Sed quemadmodum par est ut hos homines admiremur, ita tutum non est ut eosdem imitemur. Eos ex animo suspicio, et illis libenter gratulor hanc suam raram felicitatem. Sed aliis non sum auctor, ut vel parem sperent laudem vel eandem sequantur rationem. Si non alio, hoc certe nomine, quod CICERO hac via insistere, aut prudenter ipse noluit, aut frustra cum multis tentare non sit ausus. Sed ait quis, "Recte quidem CICERO; nam ante eum, nemo fuit præter Græcos, ad imitationem proponendus. Sed nunc habemus ipsum

CICERONEM, eum quidem, cum universa Græcia, et cum singulo quoque Græcorum, in ea eloquentiæ laude qua maxime quisque floruit, comparandum. Cur igitur non CICERONEM solum mihi, variis illis Græcis relictis, ad imitandum proponerem?"

Aliquid est, quod dicis. Ipse enim CICERONEM præcipue imitandum volo; sed tuta via, sed recta ratione, suo ordine, suo loco. Et rationem meam, cur hoc volo, et quomodo hoc volo, aperte ostendam. Primum, si optarem ipse alter fieri CICERO (quod ante dixi), qua ratione potius fierem, quam ea ipsa, qua ipse CICERO factus est CICERO? Hanc viam, certam, cognitam, et expeditam esse, optimus testis est ipse CICERO. Itaque quum gressus nostri recte et solide firmati erunt in hac ipsa via, qua præivit CICERO ad alios; sic, ut omnes ejus et abditos recessus, et varia diverticula, et difficiles anfractus, perfecte cognoscamus; tum tuto quidem, et feliciter etiam, duce ipsa MINERVA, nostram ad CICERONEM viam muniemus. Et hoc quidem modo, ut ante dixi, si illustriora exempla, numero multa, genere varia, e CICERONE selecta, ubi ille optimos Græcos imitatur, per insignem aliquem artificem non solum, ut quidam faciunt, diligenter indicata, sed ut STURMIUS docet, erudite explicata fuerint.

Et hæc est illa via, mea certe opinione, qua ad CICERONIS imitationem recta pergendum est. Non, quomodo RICCIUS ostendit LONGOLIUM fecisse, (hoc est ut ipse putat, excellenti ratione; ut ego existimo, valde laudabiliter; ut multi sentiunt, mediocriter et tolerabiliter; ut ERASMUS et PAULUS MANUTIUS judicant, inepte, frigide, et pueriliter,) sed qua ratione STURMIUS CICERONEM imitandum esse, et præceptis in *Literata Nobilitate* perfecte docet, et exemplis in *Quinctiana Explicatione* insigniter ostendit.

Et hoc in loco, opportune mihi in mentem venit insignis ille in Quinctiana locus: nimirum, *Etenim si veritate amicitia, fide societas*, etc. Quæ sententia bis est a te, mi STURMI, mirabili imitationis artificio expressa, primum, in *Amissa dicendi Ratione;* postea, in ipsa *Explicatione Quinctiana.* In utroque loco eandem orationis formam, diversis quidem in rebus, sed varia tractatione elegantissime effinxisti. "Præceptor meus a me petit timide quidem et verecunde, rogem ut ipse te, tua pace ut illi liceat, in suo commentariolo, hac duplici tua unius loci CICERONIS insigni imitatione pro exemplo abuti." Et spondeo ipse pro eo, illum hoc cum honorifica de te et amabili mentione facturum.

Sed quorsum tantopere, mi STURMI, laboramus de imitatione? quum non desunt, qui docti et prudentes videri volunt, qui imitationem vel nullam esse putant, vel nihili prorsus æstimant, vel omnem temere permiscent, vel eam totam, quæcunque sit, cujuscunque sit, ut servilem et puerilem repudiant. Sed hi sunt et inertes et imperiti; laborem fugiunt, artem nesciunt. Qui quum naturæ omnia falso judicio tribuunt, eandem tamen optimis suis præsidiis iniquo consilio spoliant; et res semper conjungendas, magna temeritate, extrema imprudentia distrahunt. Artis enim et naturæ dissidium faciunt, quicunque casu non delectu, fortuito non observatione, in literarum studiis versantur. Isti idem sentiunt de eleganti illa eloquentiæ parte, quæ in numerorum ratione collocata est; illam enim aut nullam esse volunt, aut inanem omnem judicant. Et aurium sensum cum artificioso et intelligenti animi judicio nihil commercii habere existimant. Quem tamen doctrinæ locum, id quod isti aut imperite nesciunt aut superbe contemnunt, principes illi in omni doctrina viri, ARISTOTELES, DEMETRIUS, HALICARNASSEUS, HERMOGE-

NES, CICERO, QUINCTILIANUS, STURMIUS, tanto studio perpoliverunt, ut in nulla alia re accuratius elaborasse videantur.

Sed illos in sua, sive imperita desidia, sive superba imprudentia, relinquamus; et hos alteros nos amemus atque sequamur. Qui quum fuerint optima natura ornati, esse item voluere sic doctrina exculti, ut ipsi non magis naturæ beneficio adjuti, quam artis præsidio muniti, nec magis ingenio felices, quam judicio prudentes, semper habiti sint.

Et hæc mihi de imitandi ratione cogitanti gravis sæpe subit dolor ob amissos illos libros DIONYSII HALICARNASSEI, quos doctissime et fusissime scripsit de imitatione et oratoria et historica. Quos libros ipse DIONYSIUS in eo commentario, quo suum judicium de universa historia THUCYDIDIS, et quid in ea vel tuto imitandum, vel caute declinandum sit, erudite, prudenter, et plene explicat, cæteris suis libris omnibus anteponit. Sed interim omnes docti plurimum debent, quum ANDREÆ DUBITIO PANNONIO tum tuo PAULO MANUTIO, quod nuper hunc eruditum commentarium, alter Latine doctissime vertit, (Græca enim non vidi,) alter typis elegantissime excudit. Nam in eo libro sic omnes THUCYDIDIS virtutes et vitia, et diligenter collegit, et libere exposuit, ut quicquid in eo sive in verborum delectu, sive in sententiarum forma et constructione, sive in rerum judicio et tractatione, vel prædicabile ad ejus laudem, vel vituperabile ad similium devitationem scriptum est, id omne et plane et plene ab Halicarnasseo demonstretur. Tanta enim ejus est in singula congerendo diligentia, in considerando doctrina, in ponderando judicium, ut si ipse jam revivisceret THUCYDIDES, credo equidem, non se ipse melius noscere, non de se aut rectius aut æquius sta-

tuere potuerit. De imitatione historica doctius aut accuratius quicquam, credo, nondum exstitit.

Et quoties ego hunc lego commentarium, (quod sæpe quidem et libenter facio,) toties in hanc sententiam adducor, ut plane ipse existimem, neminem, nec Græcum nec Latinum, majori facultate ad scribendam historiam unquam venisse, quam DIONYSIUM HALICARNASSEUM: præsertim, si ad tantam diligentiæ, doctrinæ, et judicii præstantiam accessit etiam, AUGUSTI beneficio, totus et tantus ille Thesaurus Bibliothecæ M. VARRONIS. Si forsan hunc librum, mi STURMI, HALICARNASSEI de historia THUCYDIDIS aliis rebus occupatus nondum legeris, rogo ut meo rogatu legas. Et scribas quæso, an sensus tuus cum mea opinione de hoc libro consentiat, necne. Fatetur etiam ipse in eodem libro, se pari ratione de imitatione Demosthenica, et alterum librum de civili philosophia scripsisse. Utinam illi exstarent libri; mente enim quasi jam præcipio, tales libros a tanto viro scriptos, omnibus eruditionis et prudentiæ præceptis, quantum ad civilem cognitionem attinet, plene abundavisse.

Hæ cogitationes de imitatione, et illa mentio ante facta a me de CHRISTOPHORO LONGOLIO, qui voluit ipse esse, et aliis etiam visus est, insignis CICERONIS imitator, nonnihil me movent, ut quid ipse de ejus facultate et aliorum de eo opinione sentiam, tibi aperiam. Qui bene de LONGOLIO sentiunt, habent me non repugnantem: quanquam habeo et foris et domi, quos illi anteponam. BUDÆUS amicum immerentem ingrata invidia, in quadam ad ERASMUM epistola, nimis acerbe premit. ERASMUS apertius insectatur; et illum inepte, furaciter, servili et puerili more, nihil præter centones ex CICERONE consuere arguit: id quod ipse credo ERASMUM aliquo potius scripsisse stomacho, quam certo suo sta-

tuisse judicio: nam scio, ubi LONGOLIO jam mortuo, non singularem aliquam, sed summam eloquentiæ laudem tribuit. Miror ipse magis quidem, quid tuo PAULO MANUTIO in mentem venerit, homini, ut audio, natura humanissimo, et, ut video, doctrina excultissimo, ut is LONGOLIUM, vivus mortuum, bonus non malum, eruditus non indoctum, Italus Italorum delicias, in literis suis ad STEPHANUM SAULIUM, etiam in lucem editis, tam acri stilo pungeret.

Quo consilio hoc fecit, nescio: parum humaniter quidem, scio, et an vero judicio, plane dubito. Dicit enim LONGOLIUM esse exilem in sententiis, non luculentum in verbis, inopem a Latina lingua, esse prorsus nullum. In eo et judicium requirit et stultitiam notat. Quanto tu, mi STURMI, moderatius, humanius, atque prudentius olim ad ducem Juliacensium? Ubi, quum de ERASMO et LONGOLIO et eorum tota controversia gravissimum judicium dederis, laudem neutri adimis, sed suam utrique ingenue tribuisti. Atque in eodem loco, ubi MANUTIUS LONGOLIUM eo usque dejicere tantopere laborat, non nihil ipse, mea opinione, labitur. Nam quum eximiam illam suam, et ei, ut ipse scribit, cum paucis communem, augendæ linguæ Latinæ rationem singulari præconio efferat; nimirum, quod exquisitas sententias de CICERONE excerptas, aliis verbis, quam poterat lectissimis, ornare consueverat; an non plane ostendit, se malle cum CN. CARBONE in errores abduci, quam cum L. CRASSO recta via insistere? et opinionem QUINCTILIANI judicio CICERONIS anteponere? CRASSUS enim et CICERO non solum majori auctoritate pugnant. sed meliori ratione vincunt, inutilem esse laborem malo consilio aucupari deteriora, quum recto judicio optima sunt præcepta; et temere captare vulgaria quum selectissima scienter sunt occupata.

Gaudeo *Præceptorem* meum loqui Anglice: ne, quum tam libere dissentit hac in re a MANUTIO, tantum hominem offenderet: tamen MANUTIUM non nominat. Nam quum dissentit ab aliquo, hoc tacite; quum laudat quenquam, illud aperte facit. Quanquam si ipse MANUTIUS has literas legeret, non est cur offenderetur. Nemo enim melius quam ille novit, Musas ipsas esse non solum candidas sed etiam prudentes: quæ inter literarum cultores aliquam nonnunquam opinionum dissensionem, et ferunt patienter, et serunt ipsæ aliquando non inutiliter; omnem vero animorum distractionem, et fieri semper vetant, et esse diu non patiuntur. Itaque PAULUM tuum MANUTIUM meum quoque esse volo: nec sinam, ut eum tu plus diligas quam ipse amem. Et quanquam tu loci opportunitate illi propior es, benevolentiæ tamen studio, et officii etiam repræsentatione, quum usus feret, ut sis conjunctior profecto non permittam.

Idem cogito de aliis in Italia clarissimis viris, de PETRO VICTORIO, de JOVITA RAPICIO, qui erudite et eleganter *de Numero Oratorio* scripsit: de CAROLO SIGONIO, de JOANNE BAPTISTA PIGNA Ferrariensi, de PETRO BARGÆO Pisano. Nam quantum CAROLO SIGONIO omnes docti debent, pro utraque utriusque urbis republica, tanta diligentia, tanta doctrina, tanto orationis lumine explicata; et imperitus, qui non clare videt, et invidus, qui non ingenue fatetur, habendus est. Rara vero illa doctrina, et grave etiam illud judicium, quo BAPTISTA PIGNA aureolum HORATII librum *De Arte Poetica* fusissime explicuit, magno me commovit desiderio videndi etiam ea, quæ in tres libros Rhetoricos ARISTOTELIS pari ratione conscripsit; in quibus, ut ille ipse scribit, ad artis oratoriæ, ab intelligendi principe optime traditæ, perfectissima præcepta,

ex Græcorum et Latinorum dicendi principum orationibus, ex ethicis item, politicis, et historicis, omnis generis exempla adjunxit. Et quale opus hoc sit, quanquam oculis nondum vidi, animo tamen quam præclarum illud sit, cum magna voluptate jam præcepi.

Scripsit idem BAPTISTA PIGNA, ut ipse testatur, alterum librum, *Quæstiones Sophocleas:* ubi de tota doctrina tragica, de SENECÆ vitiis, de Græcorum Tragicorum virtutibus fuse tractavit. Nec minori hujus libri videndi desiderio teneor, mi STURMI: quoniam SOPHOCLES et EURIPIDES, mea certe opinione, cum PLATONE et XENOPHONTE in omni civilis cognitionis explicatione conferri possunt; præsertim quod attinet ad eorum mores, consilia, instituta, et eventa, qui in splendore aulico vitam suam traducunt.

PETRUS ANGELUS BARGÆUS Pisanus carmine divino Κυνηγετικὰ complexus est; nec minus excellit dicendi facultate. Is scripsit, ut ex ejus scripto et MANUTII testimonio intelligo, doctissimos etiam commentarios in eruditum illum DEMETRII libellum *de Elocutione.* An hic liber, et illi, quos commemoravi JOANNIS BAPTISTÆ PIGNÆ, in lucem prodiere, aut sint proditurі, admodum aveo scire. Si homo es, mi STURMI, hoc meo rogatu per literas tuas cognosce primo quoque tempore a PAULO MANUTIO, qui omnium optime istud intelligit. Et quid ille respondet, ad me quamprimum perscribas: nihil enim mihi gratius facturus es. Et manibus LONGOLII æternam felicitatem exopto, qui mihi hoc a te postulandi occasionem dedit. "Et tibi, mi STURMI, gratias ingentes ago, quod *de Imitatione Oratoria* scribis; quod mihi mittere polliceris, quæ dictata sunt." Mitte igitur, et quamprimum mitte: ut *Præceptor* meus, qui nunc est fere nudus, et plane de-

formis, istinc aliquem elegantiorem mutuans amictum, nonnihil cultius vestitus, et inde superbior factus in lucem audacius prodeat.

Interim vero cupio a te scire, an imitatio hoc loco tam late patere debeat, ut eam etiam exercitationem complectatur, quam nos metaphrasin nominamus. Quæ Μίμησις tamen a PLATONE in tertio *de Republica* dicitur: ubi ipse SOCRATES orationem CHRYSÆ sacerdotis ex ἁ Ἰλιάδος libero sermone elegantissime dissolvit. Et cur non appelletur imitatio, non video: quum videam in eo loco et quædam prudenter ablata, et multa ingeniose commutata. Idem sentio de pari consilio LUCRETII Latinissimi poetæ; qui diversa ratione insignem illam THUCYDIDIS explicationem pestis erudito et eleganti carmine illigavit.

At quid facis, mi ASCHAME, inquis, quod tu non literas, sed libellum hoc tempore ad me? Quod facio, facio libenter et cum voluptate, mi STURMI; præsertim in hac dulci et domestica mea ab omni aulico negotio otiosa hoc tempore et libera cessatione; dum princeps mea nunc longius ab urbe, non in Musarum sacrario PALLADI, (quod reliquo toto anno facit,) sed inter silvas DIANÆ de more hoc tempore serviat.

Et hæc prolixitas mea mihi quidem non est molesta, et tibi item spero non admodum erit ingrata. Quum enim mihi nullum in scribendo tædium attulerit, ne tibi magnum in legendo fastidium sit paritura, non valde pertimesco. Et si nihil aliud, hoc certe efficiam, ut tu certo intelligas, hoc longo silentio meo, meum erga te amorem minime esse diminutum. Intelliges præterea, quod adhuc etiam de literarum studiis nostrarum in me resideat eadem cogitatio, licet non par facultas, quæ tum fuit, quum ego primum, D. BUCERI hortatu, literas illas prolixas ad te dederim; quas tu

peramice quidem amoris nostri mutui publicas testes esse voluisti.

Nunc vero fructus ille otii nostri academici, qui tibi aliquis tum visus est, ita jam omnis in hoc negotio aulico quotidie languescit, et eo indies, tanquam vinum fugiens, paulatim decidit; ut plane verear, tuo ne judicio prorsus exaruisse videatur. Itaque peropportuna est mihi dulcis illa et peramabilis tua mecum expostulatio; quum me vocas, festive tu quidem, sed nimis vere, hominem desidiosum: et quum amanter postulas, ut nos ipsi nostram multorum annorum intermissam scriptionem revocemus, et nos inter nos mutuis crebro literis salutemus atque consolemur.

De mea vero diutina taciturnitate nihil dico; nec veniam valde peto, nec excusationem admodum quæro: quam, licet justam et probabilem adferre possum, uti tamen illa nolo; ne ipsa esset mihi quidem molesta et tibi non lætabilis. Verum ne tu in hoc meo desidioso silentio nimium triumphes; quanquam ipse in hoc scribendi officio commendationem tibi magnam libenter tribuo, mihi vero nullam sumo; tamen sic tecum jure possum contendere. Tu literarum multarum numero, ego unius magnitudine; tu variis schedulis, ego hoc volumine; tu sententiarum pondere, ego verborum cumulo; tu erudita brevitate, ego loquacitate rudi; tu amoris crebra declaratione, ego benevolentiæ perpetuo studio; sic uterque nitimur, ut, tu me an ego te in hac contentione superem, non multum quidem laborem.

C.—SIR T. SMITH TO ASCHAM, (5,35).

About maps, diagrams, &c.—written to Ascham, a few days before his death. Monthall, Dec. 20, 1568.

Amico suo summo Rogero Aschamo, Thomas Smithus,

pervetustus amicus.—Mirifice mihi rem gratam fecisti, mi ASCHAME, quod hanc figuram astronomicam ad me miseris. Laudo quidem certe illum quicunque fuerit, qui hanc descripserit diligentia sua. Et aveo cum illo familiaritatem inire. Scis enim quanti æstimo doctorum omnium familiaritatem et amicitiam. Non est profecto novum, ut qui in eadem disciplina philosophentur, et amici inter se vel hac ratione sint, ut qui aliquando in eodem campo militarint, aut in eodem carcere fuerint conclusi. Tu quidem auctor eris familiaritatis nostræ, cujus si utriusvis nostrum pœnituerit, et sustinebis culpam. Ingenue mihi videtur scripsisse et docte, neque secundum vulgarem morem illiteratorum hominum, qui se et opinione doctrinæ suæ ad quæstum abutuntur. Quorum nec amicitiam requiro, et familiaritatem aversor. Remisi, ut requiris, *διάγραμμα* et figuram quam misisti, et de eadem etiam, ut posita est, judicium meum. Quia vero non videtur is, qui eam tibi dedit, sequutus novas tabulas RHEINOLDI, sed Alphonsinas potius: de eadem hora et die figuram erexi, secundum *Ephemerides* JOANNIS STADII.

Διάγραμμα videtur paululum differre, judicium non ita multum. Et si quæ diversitas fuerit aut in *θέσει* aut in judiciis, potes dicere illud antiquum diverbium; Quum aruspex aruspicem viderit, mirum est, si non rideat: quid quæris? sic sumus prognostici omnes, non in rebus modo astronomicis, sed et in deliberando. Quot homines tot sententiæ. Ita hoc mihi, illud alteri videtur fortius ac potius, ut fere quot sint capita tot etiam diversi sensus appareant. Libellus meus quem requiris, jampridem absolutus est, et WALDINUM transcribendus mittitur, ne una et primum exemplum et totum inventum pereat. HADDONI epistolæ sunt inventæ, sed non omnes, de meis ad illum adhuc incer-

tius. Tu vale, et meo quæso nomine conjugem tuam, et illum tuum astronomum, quem absens et ignorans amo, meo nomine saluta. Ex ædibus meis Montis Aulæ, XX Decembris, ut astronomi supputant, 1568.

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TOXOPHILUS:

A TREATISE ON THE ART OF SHOOTING WITH THE BOW.

HAC fusa est nostris Babylonica pestis ab oris:
HAC prauaad Stygias dogmata trusa plagas.
HOC Scotus & Gallus fracti domitiq: iacebunt
Subiecti Domino colla superba suo.
VE RI TA S
VIN CIT
O Rejoyse Englande be gladde and merie,
TROTHE ouercommeth thyne enemyes all,
The Scot, the Frencheman, the Pope, and heresie.
OVERCOMMED by Trothe haue had a fall:
Sticke to the Trothe, and euermore thou shall,
Through Christ, King Henry, the Boke and the Bowe,
All maner of enemies, quite ouerthrowe.
I
D

Gualterus Haddonus Cantabrigien.

Mittere qui celeres summa velit arte sagittas,
Ars erit ex isto summa profecta libro.
Quicquid habent arcus rigidi, nervique rotundi,
Sumere si libet, hoc sumere fonte licet.
Aschamus est author, magnū quē fecit Apollo
Arte sua, magnum Pallas et arte sua.
Docta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc mens docta libellum:
Quæ videt Ars Usus visa, parata facit.
Optimus hæc author quia tradidit optima scripta,
Convenit hec nobis optima velle sequi.

TOXOPHILVS,

The ſchole of ſhootinge conteyned in two bookes.

To all Gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace.

DEDICATION.

To the most gracious, and our most dread Sovereign Lord, King Henry the VIII., by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth Supreme Head, next under Christ, be all Health, Victory, and Felicity.

WHAT time as, most Gracious Prince, your Highness, this last year past, took that your most honourable and victorious journey into France, accompanied with such a port of the Nobility and Yeomanry of England, as neither hath been like known by experience, nor yet read of in history: accompanied also with the daily prayers, good hearts, and wills, of all and every one your Grace's subjects left behind you here at home in England; the same time, I being at my book in Cambridge, sorry that my little ability could stretch out no better to help forward so noble an enterprise, yet with my good will, prayer, and heart, nothing behind him that was foremost of all, conceived a wonderful desire, by the prayer, wishing, talking, and communication, that was in every man's mouth, for your Grace's most victorious return, to offer up something, at your home-coming, to your Highness, which should both be a token of my love and duty toward

your Majesty, and also a sign of my good mind and zeal toward my country.

This occasion, given to me at that time, caused me to take in hand again this little purpose of shooting, begun of me before, yet not ended then, for other studies more meet for that trade of living, which God and my friends had set me unto. But when your Grace's most joyful and happy victory prevented my daily and speedy diligence to perform this matter, I was compelled to wait another time, to prepare and offer up this little book unto your Majesty. And when it hath pleased your Highness, of your infinite goodness, and also your most honourable Council, to know and peruse over the contents, and some part of this book, and so to allow it, that other men might read it, through the furtherance and setting forth of the right worshipful and my singular good master, Sir William Paget, Knight, most worthy secretary to your Highness, and most open and ready succour to all poor honest learned men's suits, I most humbly beseech your Grace to take in good worth this little treatise, purposed, begun, and ended of me only for this intent, that labour, honest pastime, and virtue, might recover again that place and right, that idleness, unthrift, gaming, and vice, have put them fro [*from*].

And although to have written this book either in Latin or Greek (which thing I would be very glad yet to do, if I might surely know your Grace's pleasure therein), had been more easy and fit for my trade in study; yet nevertheless, I, supposing it no point of honesty, that my commodity should stop and hinder any part either of the pleasure or profit of many, have written this English matter, in the English tongue, for Englishmen; where in this I trust that your Grace

(if it shall please your Highness to read it) shall perceive it to be a thing honest for me to write, pleasant for some to read, and profitable for many to follow; containing a pastime honest for the mind, wholesome for the body, fit for every man, vile for no man, using the day and open place for honesty to rule it: not lurking in corners for misorder to abuse it. Therefore I trust it shall appear to be both a sure token of my zeal to set forward shooting, and some sign of my mind towards honesty and learning.

Thus will I trouble your Grace no longer, but with my daily prayer I will beseech God to preserve your Grace in all health and felicity: to the fear and overthrow of all your enemies: to the pleasure, joyfulness, and succour of all your Subjects: to the utter destruction of Papistry and Heresy: to the continual setting forth of God's word and his glory.

Your Grace's most bounden Scholar,

ROGER ASCHAM.

TO ALL

GENTLEMEN AND YEOMEN OF ENGLAND.

BIAS the wise man came to Crœsus the rich King, on a time when he was making new ships, purposing to have subdued by water the out-isles lying betwixt Greece and Asia Minor. "What news now in Greece?" saith the King to Bias. "None other news but these," saith Bias: "that the isles of Greece have prepared a wonderful company of horsemen to over-run Lydia withal." "There is nothing under heaven," saith the King, "that I would so soon wish, as that they durst be so bold to meet us on the land with horse." "And think you," saith Bias, "that there is any thing which they would sooner wish, than that you should be so fond to meet them on the water with ships?" And so Crœsus, hearing not the true news, but perceiving the wise man's mind and counsel, both gave then over making of his ships, and left also behind him a wonderful example for all commonwealths to follow: that is, evermore to regard and set most by that thing whereunto nature hath made them most apt, and use hath made them most fit.

By this matter I mean the shooting in the long bow, for Englishmen; which thing with all my heart I do

wish, and if I were of authority,* I would counsel all the gentlemen and yeomen of England, not to change it with any other thing, how good soever it seems to be; but that still, according to the old wont of England, youth should use it for the most honest pastime in peace, that men might handle it as a most sure weapon in war. Other strong weapons,† which both experience doth prove to be good, and the wisdom of the King's Majesty and his council provides to be had, are not ordained to take away shooting; but that both, not compared together whether should be better than the other, but so joined together that the one should be always an aid and help for the other, might so strengthen the realm on all sides, that no kind of enemy, in any kind of weapon, might pass and go beyond us.

For this purpose I, partly provoked by the counsel of some gentlemen, partly moved by the love which I have always borne toward shooting, have written this little treatise; wherein, if I have not satisfied any man, I trust he will the rather be content with my doing, because I am (I suppose) the first, which hath said any thing in this matter, (and few beginnings be perfect, saith wise men;) and also because, if I have said amiss, I am content that any man amend it: or, if I have said too little, any man that will, to add what him pleaseth to it.

My mind is, in profiting and pleasing every man, to hurt or displease no man, intending none other purpose, but that youth might be stirred to labour, honest pas-

* *Authority* is here used not for *Power*, but for *Credit* or *Influence*.

† Fire-arms began about this time to be made for the hand, ordnance or great guns seem to have been near a century employed in war, before hand-guns were much used.

time, and virtue, and as much as lieth in me, plucked from idleness, unthrifty games, and vice: which thing I have laboured only in this book, showing how fit shooting is for all kinds of men; how honest a pastime for the mind; how wholesome an exercise for the body; not vile for great men to use, not costly for poor men to sustain, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at their pleasure to misuse it, but abiding in the open sight and face of the world, for good men, if it fault, by their wisdom to correct it.

And here I would desire all gentlemen and yeomen to use this pastime in such a mean, that the outrageousness of great gaming should not hurt the honesty of shooting, which, of his own nature, is always joined with honesty; yet for men's faults oftentimes blamed unworthily, as all good things have been, and evermore shall be.

If any man would blame me, either for taking such a matter in hand, or else for writing it in the English tongue, this answer I may make him, that when the best of the realm think it honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest sort, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write; and though to have written it in another tongue, had been both more profitable for my study, and also more honest* for my name, yet I can think my labour well bestowed, if with a little hinderance of my profit and name, may come any furtherance to the pleasure or commodity of the gentlemen and yeomen of England, for whose sake I took this matter in hand. And as for the Latin or Greek tongue, every thing is so excellently done in them, that none can do better: in the English tongue, contrary,

* *Honest* is here used for *honourable.*

every thing in a manner so meanly both for the matter and handling, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have been always most ready to write. And they which had least hope in Latin, have been most bold in English: when surely every man that is most ready to talk, is not most able to write. He that will write well in any tongue, must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do: and so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words, as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I communed with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying, "Who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at a dinner both wine, ale, and beer?" "Truly (quoth I) they be all good, every one taken by himself alone, but if you put malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink neither easy to be known, nor yet wholesome for the body." Cicero, in following Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, increased the Latin tongue after another sort. This way, because divers men that write do not know, they can neither follow it, because of their ignorance, nor yet will praise it for very arrogancy, two faults, seldom the one out of the other's company.

English writers by diversity of time have taken divers matters in hand. In our fathers' time nothing was read but books of feigned chivalry, wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end, but only to manslaughter and bawdry. If any man suppose they were good enough to pass the time withal, he is deceived. For surely vain words do work no small

thing in vain, ignorant, and young minds, especially if they be given any thing thereunto of their own nature. These books (as I have heard say) were made the most part in abbeys and monasteries,—a very likely and fit fruit of such an idle and blind kind of living. In our time now, when every man is given to know, much rather than to live well, very many do write, but after such a fashion as very many do shoot. Some shooters take in hand stronger bows than they be able to maintain.* This thing maketh them sometime to outshoot the mark, sometime to shoot far wide, and perchance hurt some that look on. Other that never learned to shoot, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bow, will be as busy as the best, but such one commonly plucketh † down a side, and crafty archers which be against him, will be both glad of him, and also ever ready to lay and bet with him: it were better for such one to sit down than shoot. Other there be, which have very good bow and shafts, and good knowledge in shooting, but they have been brought up in such evil favoured shooting, that they can neither shoot ‡ fair nor yet near. If any man will apply these things together, he shall not see the one far differ from the other. And I also, amongst all other, in writing this little treatise, have followed some young shooters, which both will begin to shoot, for a little money, and also will use to shoot once or twice about the mark for nought, afore they begin a-good. And therefore did I take this little matter in hand, to assay myself, and hereafter, by the grace of God, if the judgment of wise men, that look on, think that I can do any good, I may perchance

* To *maintain* is to *manage*.

† To *pluck down a side*, I believe, is to shoot on one side into the ground.

‡ Neither shoot gracefully nor exactly.

cast my shaft among other, for better game. Yet in writing this book, some man will marvel perchance, why that I, being an unperfect shooter, should take in hand to write of making a perfect archer: the same man, peradventure, will marvel how a whetstone, which is blunt, can make the edge of a knife sharp. I would the same man should consider also, that in going about any matter, there be four things to be considered, doing, saying, thinking, and perfectness: first, there is no man that doth so well, but he can say better, or else some men, which be now stark nought, should be too good: again, no man can utter with his tongue so well as he is able to imagine with his mind, and yet perfectness itself is far above all thinking: then, seeing that saying is one step nearer perfectness than doing, let every man leave marvelling why my word shall rather express, than my deed shall perform, perfect shooting.

I trust no man will be offended with this little book, except it be some fletchers* and bowyers, thinking hereby that many that love shooting shall be taught to refuse such naughty wares as they would utter. Honest fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be unhonest, ought rather to amend themselves for doing ill, than being angry with me for saying well. A fletcher hath even as good a quarrel to be angry with an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a blade-smith hath to a fletcher that forsaketh to buy of him a naughty knife: for as an archer must be content that a fletcher know a good shaft in every point for the perfecter making of it; so an honest fletcher will also be content that a shooter know a good shaft in every point, for the perfecter using of it; because the one knoweth like a fletcher how to

* *Fletcher* is an arrow maker.

make it, the other knoweth like an archer how to use it. And seeing the knowledge is one in them both, yet the end divers, surely that fletcher is an enemy to archers and artillery which cannot be content that an archer know a shaft as well for his use in shooting, as he himself should know a shaft for his advantage in selling. And the rather, because shafts be not made so much to be sold, but chiefly to be used. And seeing that use and occupying is the end why a shaft is made, the making, as it were, a mean for occupying, surely the knowledge in every point of a good shaft, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

Yet, as I said before, no honest fletcher will be angry with me, seeing I do not teach how to make a shaft, which belongeth only to a good fletcher, but to know and handle a shaft, which belongeth to an archer. And this little book, I trust, shall please and profit both parties; for good bows and shafts shall be better known to the commodity of all shooters, and good shooting may, perchance, be the more occupied to the profit of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I pray God that all fletchers, getting their living truly, and all archers using shooting honestly, and all manner of men that favour artillery, may live continually in health and merriness, obeying their prince as they should, and loving God as they ought: to whom, for all things, be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

TOXOPHILUS:

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE SCHOOL OF SHOOTING.

PHILOLOGUS. TOXOPHILUS.

Phi. YOU study too sore, Toxophile.

Tox. I will not hurt myself over-much, I warrant you.

Phi. Take heed you do not; for we physicians say, that it is neither good for the eyes in so clear a sun, nor yet wholesome for the body, so soon after meat, to look upon a man's book.

Tox. 'In eating and studying I will never follow any physic; for if I did I am sure I should have small pleasure in the one, and less courage in the other. But what news drave you hither, I pray you?

Phi. Small news, truly; but as I came on walking, I fortuned to come with three or four that went to shoot at the pricks; and when I saw not you amongst them, but at the last espied you looking on your book here so sadly,* I thought to come and hold you with some communication, lest your book should run away with you. For methought by your wavering pace and earnest looking, your book led you, not you it.

Tox. Indeed, as it chanced, my mind went faster than my feet, for I happened here to read in *Phædro* Platonis, a place that entreats wonderfully of the nature of souls;

* So *seriously*.

which place, whether it were for the passing eloquence of Plato and the Greek tongue, or for the high and godly description of the matter, kept my mind so occupied, that it had no leisure to look to my feet. For I was reading how some souls, being well feathered, flew always about heaven and heavenly matters; other some, having their feathers mowted away and drooping, sank down into earthly things.

Phi. I remember the place very well, and it is wonderfully said of Plato; and now I see it was no marvel though your feet failed you, seeing your mind flew so fast.

Tox. I am glad now that you letted me, for my head aches with looking on it; and because you tell me so, I am very sorry that I was not with those good fellows you spake upon, for it is a very fair day for a man to shoot in.

Phi. And, methinks, you were a great deal better occupied and in better company; for it is a very fair day for a man to go to his book in.

Tox. All days and weathers will serve for that purpose, and surely this occasion was ill lost.

Phi. Yea, but clear weather maketh clear minds; and it is best, as I suppose, to spend the best time upon the best things: and methought you shot very well, and at that mark at which every good scholar should most busily shoot at. And I suppose it be a great deal more pleasure also to see a soul fly in Plato, than a shaft fly at the pricks. I grant you, shooting is not the worst thing in the world; yet if we shoot, and time shoot, we are not like to be great winners at the length. And you know also we scholars have more earnest and weighty matters in hand; nor we be not born to pastime and play, as you know well enough who saith.

Tox. Yet the same man in the same place, Philologe, by your leave, doth admit wholesome, honest, and mannerly pastimes, to be as necessary to be mingled with sad matters of the mind, as eating and sleeping is for the health of the body, and yet we be born for neither of both. And Aristotle himself saith, that although it were a fond and a childish thing to be too earnest in pastime and play, yet doth he affirm, by the authority of the old poet Epicharmus, that a man may use play for earnest matter sake. And in another place, that, as rest is for labour, and medicines for health; so is pastime, at times, for sad and weighty study.

Phi. How much in this matter is to be given to the authority either of Aristotle or Tully, I cannot tell, seeing sad men may well enough speak merrily for a merry matter: this I am sure, which thing this fair wheat (God save it) maketh me remember, that those husbandmen which rise earliest and come latest home, and are content to have their dinner and other drinkings brought into the field to them for fear of losing of time, have fatter barns in harvest, than they which will either sleep at noon-time of the day, or else make merry with their neighbours at the ale. And so a scholar that purposeth to be a good husband, and desireth to reap and enjoy much fruit of learning, must till and sow thereafter.* Our best seed time, which be scholars, as it is very timely, and when we be young, so it endureth not over-long, and therefore it may not be let slip one hour: our ground is very hard and full of weeds, our horse wherewith we be drawn, very wild, as Plato saith. And infinite other mo lets, which will make a thrifty scholar take heed how he spendeth his time in sport and play.

* In order to it.

Tox. That Aristotle and Tully speak earnestly, and as they thought, the earnest matter which they entreat upon doth plainly prove. And, as for your husbandry, it was more probably * told with apt words proper to the thing, than thoroughly proved with reasons belonging to our matter. For, contrariwise, I heard myself a good husband at his book once say, that to omit study some time of the day, and some time of the year, made as much for the increase of learning as to let the land lie some time fallow, maketh for the better increase of corn. This we see, if the land be ploughed every year, the corn cometh thin up: the ear is short, the grain is small, and, when it is brought into the barn and threshed, giveth very evil fall.† So those which never leave poring on their books, have oftentimes as thin invention as other poor men have, and as small wit and weight in it as in other men's. And thus your husbandry, methinks, is more like the life of a covetous snudge that oft very evil proves, than the labour of a good husband that knoweth well what he doth. And surely the best wits to learning must needs have much recreation and ceasing from their book, or else they mar themselves; when base and dumpish wits can never be hurt with continual study, as ye see in luting, that a treble minikin string must always be let down, but at such time as when a man must needs play, when the base and dull string needeth never to be moved out of his place. The same reason I find true in two bows that I have, whereof the one is quick of cast, ‡ trick, and trim both for pleasure and profit: the other is a lug, slow of cast, following the string, more sure for to last than pleasant for to use. Now, Sir, it chanced

* *Probably* is *speciously.*
† *Faule* or *fall*, is *produce.*
‡ *Trick* or *trickey*, is neat, nice, elegant.

this other night, one in my chamber would needs bend them to prove their strength, but (I cannot tell how) they were both left bent till the next day at after-dinner: and when I came to them, purposing to have gone on shooting, I found my good bow clean cast * on the one side, and as weak as water, that surely, if I were a rich man, I had rather have spent a crown; and as for my lug, it was not one whit the worse, but shot by and by as well and as far as ever it did. And even so, I am sure that good wits, except they be let down like a treble string, and unbent like a good casting bow, they will never last and be able to continue in study. And I know where I speak this, Philologe; for I would not say thus much afore young men, for they will take some occasion to study little enough. But I say it therefore, because I know, as little study getteth little learning, or none at all, so the most study getteth not the most learning of all. For a man's wit sore occupied in earnest study must be as well recreated with some honest pastime, as the body sore laboured must be refreshed with sleep and quietness, or else it cannot endure very long, as the noble poet saith:

> What thing wants quiet and merry rest, endures but a small while.†

And I promise you shooting, by my judgment, is the most honest pastime of all, and such one, I am sure, of all other, that hindereth learning little or nothing at all, whatsoever you and some others say, which are a great deal sorer against it always than you need to be.

Phi. Hindereth learning little or nothing at all!

* *Cast* is *warped*. The word is still used by artificers.

† If this line was so translated when this treatise was first written, in 1545, it is the oldest English hexameter that I remember.

that were a marvel to me truly; and I am sure, seeing you say so, you have some reason wherewith you can defend shooting withal; and as for will, (for the love that you bear towards shooting,) I think there shall lack none in you. Therefore, seeing we have so good leisure both, and nobody by to trouble us, and you so willing and able to defend it, and I so ready and glad to hear what may be said of it, I suppose we cannot pass the time better over, neither you for the honesty * of your shooting, nor I for mine own mind sake, than to see what can be said with it or against it; and specially in these days when so many doeth use it, and every man, in a manner, doeth commune of it.

Tox. To speak of shooting, Philologe, truly I would I were so able, either as I myself am willing, or yet as the matter deserveth; but seeing with wishing we can not have one now worthy, which so worthy a thing can worthily praise, and although I had rather have any other to do it than myself, yet myself rather than no other, I will not fail to say in it what I can. Wherein if I say little, lay that of my little ability, not of the matter itself, which deserveth no little thing to be said of it.

Phi. If it deserve no little thing to be said of it, Toxophile, I marvel how it chanceth then that no man hitherto hath written any thing of it; wherein you must grant me, that either the matter is nought, unworthy, and barren to be written upon, or else some men are to blame which both love it and use it, and yet could never find in their heart to say one good word of it; seeing that very trifling matters hath not lacked great learned men to set them out, as gnats † and nuts,

* *Honesty* is *honour.*

† The Gnat of *Virgil*, and the Nut of *Ovid.*

and many other mo like things; wherefore either you may honestly lay very great fault upon men, because they never yet praised it, or else I may justly take away no little thing from shooting because it never yet deserved it.

Tox. Truly, herein, Philologe, you take not so much from it as you give to it. For great and commodious things are never greatly praised, not because they be not worthy, but because their excellency needeth no man's praise, having all their commendation of themself, not borrowed of other men his lips, which rather praise themselves in speaking much of a little thing, than that matter which they entreat upon. Great and good things be not praised: "For who ever praised Hercules?" (saith the Greek proverb). And that no man hitherto hath written any book of shooting, the fault is not to be laid in the thing which was worthy to be written upon, but of men which were negligent in doing it, and this was the cause thereof, as I suppose. Men that used shooting most and knew it best, were not learned; men that were learned used little shooting, and were ignorant in the nature of the thing, and so few men hath been that hitherto were able to write upon it. Yet how long shooting hath continued, what commonwealths hath most used it, how honest a thing it is for all men, what kind of living soever they follow, what pleasure and profit cometh of it, both in peace and war, all manner of tongues and writers, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, hath so plentifully spoken of it, as of few other things like. So what shooting is, how many kinds there is of it, what goodness is joined with it, is told; only how it is to be learned and brought to a perfectness amongst men, is not told.

Phi. Then, Toxophile, if it be so as you do say, let

us go forward and examine how plentifully this is done that you speak; and, first, of the invention of it; then what honesty and profit is in the use of it, both for war and peace, more than in other pastimes; last of all, how it ought to be learned amongst men, for the increase of it. Which thing if you do, not only I now, for your communication, but many other mo, when they shall know of it, for your labour, and shooting itself also (if it could speak) for your kindness, will can you very much thank.

Tox. What good things men speak of shooting, and what good things shooting brings to men, as my wit and knowledge will serve me, gladly shall I say my mind. But how the thing is to be learned, I will surely leave to some other, which, both for greater experience in it, and also for their learning, can set it out better than I.

Phi. Well, as for that, I know both what you can do in shooting by experience, and that you can also speak well enough of shooting for your learning: but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt but what my desire, what your love toward it, the honesty of shooting, the profit that may come thereby to many other, shall get the second part out of you at the last.

Tox. Of the first finders out of shooting, divers men diversely do write. Claudian the poet saith, that nature gave example of shooting first by the porpentine,* which doth shoot his pricks, and will hit any thing that fights with it; whereby men learned afterward to imitate the same, in finding out both bow and shafts. Pliny referreth it to Scythes the son of Jupiter. Better and more noble writers bring shooting from a more noble inventor; as Plato, Callimachus, and Galen, from Apollo. Yet

* Porcupine.

long afore those days do we read in the Bible of shooting expressly; and also, if we shall believe Nicholas de Lyra, Lamech killed Cain with a shaft. So this great continuance of shooting doth not a little praise shooting; nor that neither doth not a little set it out, that it is referred to the invention of Apollo, for the which point shooting is highly praised of Galen: where he saith, that mean crafts be first found out by men or beasts, as weaving by a spider, and such other; but high and commendable sciences by gods, as shooting and music by Apollo. And thus shooting, for the necessity of it, used in Adam's days, for the nobleness of it referred to Apollo, hath not been only commended in all tongues and writers, but also had in great price, both in the best commonwealths in war time for the defence of their country, and of all degrees of men in peace time, both for the honesty that is joined with it, and the profit that followeth of it.

Phi. Well, as concerning the finding out of it, little praise is gotten to shooting thereby, seeing good wits may most easily of all find out a trifling matter. But whereas you say, that most commonwealths have used it in war time, and all degrees of men may very honestly use it in peace time, I think you can neither show by authority nor yet prove by reason.

Tox. The use of it in war time I will declare hereafter. And first, how all kinds and sorts of men (what degree soever they be) have at all times afore, and now may honestly use it, the example of most noblemen very well doth prove.

Cyaxares, the King of the Medes, and great grandfather to Cyrus, kept a sort of Scythians with him only for this purpose, to teach his son Astyages to shoot. Cyrus being a child was brought up in shooting; which

thing Xenophon would never have made mention on, except it had been fit for all Princes to have used: seeing that Xenophon wrote Cyrus life (as Tully saith) not to show what Cyrus did, but what all manner of Princes both in pastimes and earnest matters ought to do.

Darius, the first of that name, and King of Persia, showed plainly how fit it is for a King to love and use shooting, which commanded this sentence to be graven in his tomb for a princely memory and praise:

> Darius the King lieth buried here,
> That in shooting and riding had never peer.

Again, Domitian the Emperor was so cunning in shooting, that he could shoot betwixt a man's fingers standing afar off, and never hurt him. Commodus also was so excellent, and had so sure a hand in it, that there was nothing within his reach and shot, but he would hit it in what place he would; as beasts running, either in the head, or in the heart, and never miss; as Herodian saith he saw himself, or else he could never have believed it.

Phi. Indeed you praise shooting very well, in that you show that Domitian and Commodus love shooting; such an ungracious couple, I am sure, as a man shall not find again, if he raked all hell for them.

Tox. Well, even as I will not commend their illness, so ought not you to dispraise their goodness; and indeed, the judgment of Herodian upon Commodus is true of them both, and that was this: that beside strength of body and good shooting, they had no princely thing in them; which saying, methink, commends shooting wonderfully, calling it a princely thing. Furthermore, how commendable shooting is for Princes, Themistius, the noble philosopher, showeth in a certain

oration made to Theodosius the Emperor, wherein he doth commend him for three things, that he used of a child; for shooting, for riding of a horse well, and for feats of arms.

Moreover, not only Kings and Emperors have been brought up in shooting, but also the best commonwealths that ever were, have made goodly acts and laws for it: as the Persians, which under Cyrus conquered, in a manner, all the world, had a law that their children should learn three things only from five years old unto twenty; to ride an horse well, to shoot well, to speak truth always and never lie. The Romans (as Leo the Emperor in his book of sleights of war telleth) had a law that every man should use shooting in peace time, while he was forty years old, and that every house should have a bow and forty shafts ready for all needs; the omitting of which law (saith Leo) amongst the youth, hath been the only occasion why the Romans lost a great deal of their empire. But more of this I will speak when I come to the profit of shooting in war. If I should rehearse the statutes made of noble Princes of England in Parliaments, for the setting forward of shooting through this realm, and especially that act made for shooting the third year of the reign of our most dread sovereign Lord King Henry the VIIIth, I could be very long. But these few examples, especially of so great men and noble commonwealths, shall stand in stead of many.

Phi. That such Princes and such commonwealths have much regarded shooting, you have well declared. But why shooting ought so of itself to be regarded, you have scarcely yet proved.

Tox. Examples, I grant, out of histories do show a thing to be so, not prove a thing why it should be so.

Yet this I suppose, that neither great men's qualities, being commendable, be without great authority, for other men honestly to follow them; nor yet those great learned men that wrote such things lack good reason justly at all times for any other to approve them. Princes, being children, ought to be brought up in shooting, both because it is an exercise most wholesome, and also a pastime most honest; wherein labour prepareth the body to hardness, the mind to courageousness, suffering neither the one to be marred with tenderness nor yet the other to be hurt with idleness, as we read how Sardanapalus and such other were, because they were not brought up with outward honest painful pastimes to be men, but cockered up with inward, naughty, idle wantonness to be women. For how fit labour is for all youth, Jupiter or else Minos amongst them of Greece, and Lycurgus amongst the Lacedemonians, do show by their laws, which never ordained any thing for the bringing up of youth that was not joined with labour; and the labour which is in shooting of all other is best, both because it increaseth strength and preserveth health most, being not vehement but moderate, not overlaying any one part with weariness, but softly exercising every part with equalness, as the arms and breasts with drawing, the other parts with going, being not so painful for the labour as pleasant for the pastime, which exercise, by the judgment of the best physicians, is most allowable. By shooting also is the mind honestly exercised, where a man always desireth to be best (which is a word of honesty), and that by the same way that virtue itself doth, coveting to come nighest a most perfect end, or mean standing betwixt two extremes, eschewing short, or gone, or either side wide; for the which causes

Aristotle himself saith, that shooting and virtue be very like. Moreover, that shooting of all other is the most honest pastime, and hath least occasion to naughtiness joined with it, two things very plainly do prove, which be, as a man would say, the tutors and overseers to shooting: day-light, and open place where every man doth come, the maintainers and keepers of shooting from all unhonest doing. If shooting fault at any time, it hides it not, it lurks not in corners and huddermother; but openly accuseth and bewrayeth itself, which is the next way to amendment, as wise men do say. And these things, I suppose, be signs not of naughtiness for any man to disallow it, but rather very plain tokens of honesty for every man to praise it. The use of shooting also in great men's children, shall greatly increase the love and use of shooting in all the residue of youth. For mean men's minds love to be like great men, as Plato and Isocrates do say. And that every body should learn to shoot when they be young, defence of the commonwealth doth require when they be old, which thing cannot be done mightily when they be men, except they learn it perfectly when they be boys. And therefore shooting of all pastimes is most fit to be used in childhood; because it is an imitation of most earnest things to be done in manhood. Wherefore shooting is fit for great men's children, both because it strengtheneth the body with wholesome labour and pleaseth the mind with honest pastime, and also encourageth all other youth earnestly to follow the same. And these reasons (as I suppose) stirred up both great men to bring up their children in shooting, and also noble commonwealths so straitly to command shooting. Therefore seeing Princes, moved by honest occasions, hath in all commonwealths used

shooting, I suppose there is none other degree of men, neither low nor high, learned nor lewd, young nor old—

Phi. You shall need wade no further in this matter, Toxophile; but if you can prove me that scholars and men given to learning may honestly use shooting, I will soon grant you that all other sorts of men may not only lawfully, but ought of duty, to use it. But I think you cannot prove but that all these examples of shooting brought from so long a time, used of so noble Princes, confirmed by so wise men's laws and judgments, are set afore temporal men only to follow them; whereby they may the better and stronglier defend the commonwealth withal; and nothing belongeth to scholars and learned men, which have another part of the commonwealth, quiet and peaceable, put to their cure and charge, whose end, as it is diverse from the other, so there is no one way that leadeth to them both.

Tox. I grant, Philologe, that scholars and laymen have divers offices and charges in the commonwealth, which requires divers bringing up in their youth, if they shall do them as they ought to do in their age. Yet as temporal men of necessity are compelled to take somewhat of learning to do their office the better withal, so scholars may the boldlier borrow somewhat of laymen's pastimes to maintain their health in study withal. And surely, of all other things, shooting is necessary for both sorts to learn. Which thing, when it hath been evermore used in England, how much good it hath done, both old men and chronicles do tell, and also our enemies can bear us record. For if it be true as I have heard say, when the King of England hath been in France, the priests at home, because they were archers, have been able to overthrow all Scotland. Again, there is another thing, which above all other

doth move me, not only to love shooting, to praise shooting, to exhort all other to shooting, but also to use shooting myself; and that is our King [*Henry the Eighth*] his most royal purpose and will, which in all his statutes generally doth command men, and with his own mouth most gently doth exhort men, and by his great gifts and rewards greatly doth encourage men, and with his most princely example very often doth provoke all other men to the same. But here you will come in with temporal man and scholar. I tell you plainly, scholar or unscholar, yea if I were twenty scholars, I would think it were my duty, both with exhorting men to shoot, and also with shooting myself, to help to set forward that thing which the King's wisdom, and his Council, so greatly laboureth to go forward; which thing surely they do, because they know it to be in war the defence and wall of our country; in peace an exercise most wholesome for the body, a pastime most honest for the mind, and, as I am able to prove myself, of all other most fit and agreeable with learning and learned men.

Phi. If you can prove this thing so plainly, as you speak it earnestly, then will I not only think as you do, but become a shooter, and do as you do. But yet beware, I say, lest you, for the great love you bear toward shooting, blindly judge of shooting. For love, and all other too earnest affections, be not for nought painted blind. Take heed (I say) lest you prefer shooting before other pastimes, as one Balbinus, through blind affection, preferred his lover before all other women, although she were deformed with a polypus in her nose. And although shooting may be meet some time for some scholars, and so forth, yet the fittest always is to be preferred. Therefore, if you will needs grant scholars pastime and recreation of their minds, let them use (as

many of them doth) music and playing on instruments, thinks most seemly for all scholars, and most regarded always of Apollo and the Muses.

Tox. Even as I cannot deny but some music is fit for learning, so I trust you cannot choose but grant that shooting is fit also, as Callimachus doth signify in this verse:

Both merry songs and good shooting delighteth Apollo.

But as concerning whether of them is most fit for learning and scholars to use, you may say what you will for your pleasure; this I am sure, that Plato and Aristotle both, in their books entreating of the commonwealth, where they show how youth should be brought up in four things, in reading, in writing, in exercise of body, and singing, do make mention of music and all kinds of it; wherein they both agree, that music used amongst the Lydians is very ill for young men which be students for virtue and learning, for a certain nice, soft, and smooth sweetness of it, which would rather entice them to naughtiness than stir them to honesty.

Another kind of music, invented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully praise, allowing it to be very fit for the study of virtue and learning, because of a manly, rough, and stout sound in it, which should encourage young stomachs to attempt manly matters. Now whether these ballads and rounds, these galiards, pavanes, and dances, so nicely fingered, so sweetly tuned, be liker the music of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned judge. And whatsoever ye judge, this I am sure, that lutes, harps, all manner of pipes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments every one, which standeth by fine and quick fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them which study for learning and virtue.

Pallas, when she had invented a pipe, cast it away; not so much, saith Aristotle, because it deformed her face, but much rather because such an instrument belonged nothing to learning. How such instruments agree with learning, the goodly agreement betwixt Apollo God of learning, and Marsyas the Satyr, defender of piping, doth well declare, where Marsyas had his skin quite pulled over his head for his labour. "Much music marreth men's manners," saith Galen, although some man will say that it doth not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quick a man's mind; yet, methink, by reason it doth as honey doth to a man's stomach, which at the first receiveth it well, but afterward it maketh it unfit to abide any good strong nourishing meat, or else any wholesome sharp and quick drink. And even so in a manner these instruments make a man's wit so soft and smooth, so tender and quaisy, that they be less able to brook strong and tough study. Wits be not sharpened, but rather dulled and made blunt, with such sweet softness, even as good edges be blunter which men whet upon soft chalk stones.

And these things to be true, not only Plato, Aristotle, and Galen prove by authority of reason, but also Herodotus and other writers show by plain and evident example; as that of Cyrus, which, after he had overcome the Lydians, and taken their king Crœsus prisoner, yet after, by the means of one Pactyas, a very heady man amongst the Lydians, they rebelled against Cyrus again; then Cyrus had by and by brought them to utter destruction, if Crœsus, being in good favour with Cyrus, had not heartily desired him not to revenge Pactyas fault in shedding their blood. But if he would follow his counsel, he might bring to pass that they should never more rebel against him. And that

was this, to make them wear long kirtles to the foot, like women, and that every one of them should have a harp or a lute, and learn to play and sing. Which thing if you do, saith Crœsus (as he did indeed), you shall see them quickly of men made women. And thus luting and singing take away a manly stomach, which should enter and pierce deep and hard study.

Even such another story doth Nymphodorus, an old Greek historiographer, write of one Sesostris King of Egypt, which story, because it is somewhat long, and very like in all points to the other, and also you do well enough remember it, seeing you read it so late in Sophoclis commentaries, I will now pass over. Therefore either Aristotle and Plato know not what was good and evil for learning and virtue, and the example of wise histories be vainly set afore us, or else the minstrelsy of lutes, pipes, harps, and all other that standeth by such nice, fine, minikin fingering, (such as the most part of scholars whom I know use, if they use any,) is far more fit, for the womanishness of it, to dwell in the Court among ladies, than for any great thing in it, which should help good and sad study, to abide in the University among scholars. But perhaps you know some great goodness of such music and such instruments, whereunto Plato and Aristotle his brain could never attain; and therefore I will say no more against it.

Phi. Well, Toxophile, is it not enough for you to rail upon music, except you mock me too? But, to say the truth, I never thought myself these kinds of music fit for learning; but that which I said was rather to prove you, than to defend the matter. But yet as I would have this sort of music decay among scholars, even so do I wish, from the bottom of my

heart, that the laudable custom of England to teach children their plain song and prick-song, were not so decayed throughout all the realm as it is. Which thing how profitable it was for all sorts of men, those knew not so well then which had it most, as they do now which lack it most. And therefore it is true that Teucer saith in Sophocles:

* Seldom at all good things be known how good to be
Before a man such things do miss out of his hands.

That milk is no fitter nor more natural for the bringing up of children than music is, both Galen proveth by authority, and daily use teacheth by experience. For even the little babes lacking the use of reason, are scarce so well stilled in sucking their mother's pap, as in hearing their mother sing. Again, how fit youth is made by learning to sing, for grammar and other sciences, both we daily do see, and Plutarch learnedly doth prove, and Plato wisely did allow, which received no scholar into his school that had not learned his song before. The godly use of praising God, by singing in the church, needeth not my praise, seeing it is so praised through all the scripture; therefore now I will speak nothing of it, rather than I should speak too little of it.

Beside all these commodities, truly two degrees of men, which have the highest offices under the King in all this realm, shall greatly lack the use of singing, preachers and lawyers, because they shall not, without this, be able to rule their breasts for every purpose. For where is no distinction in telling glad things and fearful things, gentleness and cruelness, softness and vehementness, and such-like matters, there can be no

* These lines are written in imitation of the Senarius.

great persuasion. For the hearers, as Tully saith, be much affectioned as he is that speaketh. At his words be they drawn; if he stand still in one fashion, their minds stand still with him; if he thunder, they quake; if he chide, they fear; if he complain, they sorry with him; and finally, where a matter is spoken with an apt voice for every affection, the hearers, for the most part, are moved as the speaker would. But when a man is alway in one tune, like an humble bee, or else now in the top of the church, now down, that no man knoweth where to have him; or piping like a reed, or roaring like a bull, as some lawyers do, which think they do best when they cry loudest, these shall never greatly move, as I have known many well-learned have done, because their voice was not stayed afore with learning to sing. For all voices, great and small, base and shrill, weak or soft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learning to sing.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand most in need can tell best; whereof some I have known, which, because they learned not to sing when they were boys, were fain to take pain in it when they were men. If any man should hear me, Toxophile, that would think I did but fondly to suppose that a voice were so necessary to be looked upon, I would ask him if he thought not nature a fool, for making such goodly instruments in a man for well uttering his words; or else if the two noble orators Demosthenes and Cicero were not fools, whereof the one did not only learn to sing of a man, but also was not ashamed to learn how he should utter his sounds aptly of a dog; the other setteth out no point of rhetoric so fully in all his books, as how a man should order his voice for all kind of matters.

Therefore seeing men, by speaking, differ and be

better than beasts, by speaking well better than other men, and that singing is an help toward the same, as daily experience doth teach, example of wise men doth allow, authority of learned men doth approve, wherewith the foundation of youth in all good commonwealths always hath been tempered: surely, if I were one of the Parliament-house, I would not fail to put up a bill for the amendment of this thing; but because I am like to be none this year, I will speak no more of it at this time.

Tox. It were pity truly, Philologe, that the thing should be neglected; but I trust it is not as you say.

Phi. The thing is too true; for of them that come daily to the University, where one hath learned to sing, six hath not.

But now to our shooting, Toxophile, again; wherein I suppose you cannot say so much for shooting to be fit for learning, as you have spoken against music for the same. Therefore as concerning music, I can be content to grant you your mind; but as for shooting, surely I suppose that you cannot persuade me, by no means, that a man can be earnest in it, and earnest at his book too; but rather I think that a man with a bow on his back, and shafts under his girdle, is more fit to wait upon Robin Hood than upon Apollo or the Muses.

Tox. Over-earnest shooting surely I will not over-earnestly defend; for I ever thought shooting should be a waiter upon learning, not a mistress over learning. Yet this I marvel not a little at, that ye think a man with a bow on his back is more like Robin Hood's servant than Apollo's, seeing that Apollo himself, in Alcestis of Euripides, which tragedy you

read openly not long ago, in a manner glorifieth, saying this verse:

It is my wont always my bow with me to bear.

Therefore a learned man ought not too much to be ashamed to bear that sometime, which Apollo, God of learning, himself was not ashamed always to bear. And because ye would have a man wait upon the Muses, and not at all meddle with shooting; I marvel that you do not remember how that the nine Muses their self, as soon as they were born, were put to nurse to a lady called Euphemis, which had a son named Erotus, with whom the nine Muses, for his excellent shooting, kept evermore company withal, and used daily to shoot together in the Mount Parnassus; and at last it chanced this Erotus to die, whose death the Muses lamented greatly, and fell all upon their knees afore Jupiter their father, and, at their request, Erotus, for shooting with the Muses on earth, was made a sign, and called Sagittarius in heaven. Therefore you see that if Apollo and the Muses either were examples indeed, or only feigned of wise men to be examples of learning, honest shooting may well enough be companion with honest study.

Phi. Well, Toxophile, if you have no stronger defence of shooting than poets, I fear if your companions which love shooting heard you, they would think you made it but a trifling and fabling matter, rather than any other man that loveth not shooting could be persuaded by this reason to love it.

Tox. Even as I am not so fond but I know that these be fables, so I am sure you be not so ignorant but you know what such noble wits as the poets had, meant by such matters, which oftentimes, under the covering of a fable, do hide and wrap in goodly pre-

cepts of philosophy, with the true judgment of things. Which to be true, specially in Homer and Euripides, Plato, Aristotle, and Galen plainly do show; when through all their works (in a manner) they determine all controversies by these two poets, and such like authorities. Therefore, if in this matter I seem to fable and nothing prove, I am content you judge so on me, seeing the same judgment shall condemn with me Plato, Aristotle, and Galen, whom in that error I am well content to follow. If these old examples prove nothing for shooting, what say you to this, that the best learned and sagest men in this realm which be now alive, both love shooting and use shooting, as the best learned bishops that be? amongst whom, Philologe, you yourself know four or five, which as in all good learning, virtue, and sageness, they give other men example what thing they should do, even so by their shooting they plainly show what honest pastime other men given to learning may honestly use. That earnest study must be recreated with honest pastime, sufficiently I have proved afore, both by reason and authority of the best learned men that ever wrote. Then seeing pastimes be leful [*lawful*], the most fittest for learning is to be sought for. A pastime, saith Aristotle, must be like a medicine. Medicines stand by contraries; therefore, the nature of studying considered, the fittest pastime shall soon appear. In study every part of the body is idle, which thing causeth gross and cold humours to gather together and vex scholars very much, the mind is altogether bent and set on work; a pastime then must be had where every part of the body must be laboured to separate and lessen such humours withal, the mind must be unbent, to gather and fetch again his quickness withal. Thus pastimes

for the mind only be nothing fit for students, because the body, which is most hurt by study, should take away no profit thereat. This knew Erasmus very well, when he was here in Cambridge; which, when he had been sore at his book (as Garret our bookbinder has very oft told me), for lack of better exercise would take his horse and ride about the market-hill and come again. If a scholar should use bowls or tennis, the labour is so vehement and unequal, which is condemned of Galen; the example very ill for other men, when by so many acts they be made unlawful. Running, leaping, and quoiting be too vile for scholars, and so not fit by Aristotle's judgment: walking alone into the field hath no token of courage in it, a pastime like a simple man which is neither flesh nor fish. Therefore, if a man would have a pastime wholesome and equal for every part of the body, pleasant and full of courage for the mind, not vile and unhonest to give ill example to laymen, not kept in gardens and corners, not lurking on the night and in holes, but evermore in the face of men, either to rebuke it when it doeth ill, or else to testify on it when it doth well; let him seek chiefly of all other for shooting.

Phi. Such common pastimes as men commonly do use, I will not greatly allow to be fit for scholars, seeing they may use such exercises very well (I suppose), as Galen himself doth allow.

Tox. These exercises I remember very well, for I read them within these two days; of the which some be these: to run up and down a hill; to climb up a long pole, or a rope, and there hang awhile; to hold a man by his arms and wave with his heels, much like the pastime that boys use in the church when their master is away; to swing and totter in a bell-rope; to

make a fist, and stretch out both his arms, and so stand like a rood. To go on a man's tiptoes, stretching out the one of his arms forward, the other backward, which, if he bleared out his tongue also, might be thought to dance antic very properly. To tumble over and over, to top over tail; to set back to back, and see who can heave another's heels highest, with other much like; which exercises surely must needs be natural, because they be so childish, and they may be also wholesome for the body; but surely as for pleasure to the mind, or honesty in the doing of them, they be as like shooting as York is foul Sutton. Therefore to look on all pastimes and exercises wholesome for the body, pleasant for the mind, comely for every man to do, honest for all other to look on, profitable to be set by of every man, worthy to be rebuked of no man, fit for all ages, persons, and places, only shooting shall appear, wherein all these commodities may be found.

Phi. To grant, Toxophile, that students may at times convenient use shooting as most wholesome and honest pastime, yet to do as some do, to shoot hourly, daily, weekly, and in a manner the whole year, neither I can praise, nor any wise man will allow, nor you yourself can honestly defend.

Tox. Surely, Philologe, I am very glad to see you come to that point that most lieth in your stomach, and grieveth you and others so much. But I trust, after I have said my mind in this matter, you shall confess yourself that you do rebuke this thing more than you need, rather than you shall find that any man may spend by any possibility, more time in shooting than he ought. For first and foremost, the whole time is divided into two parts, the day and the

night; whereof the night may be both occupied in many honest businesses, and also spent in much unthriftiness, but in no wise it can be applied to shooting. And here you see that half our time, granted to all other things in a manner both good and ill, is at one swap quite taken away from shooting. Now let us go forward, and see how much of half this time of ours is spent in shooting. The whole year is divided into four parts, spring-time, summer, fall of the leaf, and winter. Whereof the whole winter, for the roughness of it, is clean taken away from shooting; except it be one day amongst twenty, or one year amongst forty. In summer, for the fervent heat, a man may say likewise; except it be some time against night. Now then spring-time and fall of the leaf be those which we abuse in shooting.

But if we consider how mutable and changeable the weather is in those seasons, and how that Aristotle himself saith, that most part of rain falleth in these two times; we shall well perceive, that where a man would shoot one day, he shall be fain to leave off four. Now when time itself granteth us but a little space to shoot in, let us see if shooting be not hindered amongst all kinds of men as much other ways.

First, young children use not; young men, for fear of them whom they be under too much, dare not; sage men, for other greater business, will not; aged men, for lack of strength, cannot; rich men, for covetousness sake, care not; poor men, for cost and charge, may not; masters, for their household keeping, heed not; servants, kept in by their masters very oft, shall not; craftsmen, for getting of their living, very much leisure have not; and many there be that oft begins, but, for unaptness, proves not; and most of all, which

when they be shooters give it over and list not; so that generally men every where, for one or other consideration, much shooting use not. Therefore these two things, traitness of time, and every man his trade of living, are the causes that so few men shoot, as you may see in this great town, where, as there be a thousand good men's bodies, yet scarce ten that useth any great shooting. And those whom you see shoot the most, with how many things are they drawn, or rather driven, from shooting. For first, as it is many a year or they begin to be great shooters, even so the great heat of shooting is gone within a year or two; as you know divers, Philologe, yourself, which were some time the best shooters, and now they be the best students.

If a man fall sick, farewell shooting, may fortune as long as he liveth. If he have a wrench, or have taken cold in his arm, he may hang up his bow (I warrant you) for a season. A little blain, a small cut, yea a silly poor worm in his finger, may keep him from shooting well enough. Breaking and ill luck in bows I will pass over, with a hundred more serious things, which chanceth every day to them that shoot most, whereof the least of them may compel a man to leave shooting. And these things be so true and evident, that it is impossible either for me craftily to feign them, or else for you justly to deny them. Then seeing how many hundred things are required altogether to give a man leave to shoot, and, any one of them denied, a man cannot shoot; and seeing every one of them may chance, and doth chance every day; I marvel any wise man will think it possible that any great time can be spent in shooting at all.

Phi. If this be true that you say, Toxophile, and in very deed I can deny nothing of it, I marvel greatly

how it chanceth, that those which use shooting be so much marked of men, and oft-times blamed for it, and that in a manner as much as those which play at cards and dice. And I shall tell you what I heard spoken of the same matter. A man, no shooter, (not long ago), would defend playing at cards and dice, if it were honestly used, to be as honest pastime as your shoot ing; for he laid for him, that a man might play for a little at cards and dice, and also a man might shoot away all that ever he had. He said a pair of cards cost not past two-pence, and that they needed not so much reparation as bow and shafts, they would never hurt a man's hand, nor never wear his gear. A man should never slee [*slay*] a man with shooting wide at the cards. In wet and dry, hot and cold, they would never forsake a man: he showed what great variety there is in them for every man's capacity; if one game were hard, he might easily learn another: if a man have a good game there is great pleasure in it; if he have an ill game the pain is short, for he may soon give it over and hope for a better; with many other mo reasons. But at the last he concluded, that betwixt playing and shooting, well used or ill used, there was no difference; but that there was less cost and trouble, and a great deal more pleasure, in playing than in shooting.

Tox. I cannot deny but shooting (as all other good things) may be abused. And good things ungodly used are not good, saith an honourable bishop in an earnester matter than this is; yet we must be ware that we lay not men's faults upon the thing which is not worthy, for so nothing should be good. And as for shooting, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I said before) which should be rather a token of honesty to praise it, than any sign of naughtiness to disallow it, and that is because it is in every man his

sight, it seeketh no corners, it hideth it not; if there be never so little fault in it, every man seeth it, it accuseth itself. For one hour spent in shooting is more seen, and further talked of, than twenty nights spent in dicing, even as a little white stone is seen amongst three hundred black. Of those that blame shooting and shooters, I will say no more at this time but this, that beside that they stop and hinder shooting, which the king's grace would have forward, they be not much unlike in this point to Will Somer the king his fool, which smiteth him that standeth always before his face, be he never so worshipful a man, and never greatly looks for him which lurks behind another man's back, that hurt him in deed.

But to him that compared gaming with shooting somewhat will I answer: and because he went before me in a comparison; and comparisons, saith learned men, make plain matters; I will surely follow him in the same. Honest things (saith Plato) be known from unhonest things by this difference: unhonesty hath ever present pleasure in it, having neither good pretence going before, nor yet any profit following after; which saying, describeth generally both the nature of shooting and gaming, which is good, and which is evil, very well.

Gaming hath joined with it a vain present pleasure; but there followeth loss of name, loss of goods, and winning of an hundred gouty, dropsy, diseases, as every man can tell. Shooting is a painful pastime, whereof followeth health of body, quickness of wit, and ability to defend our country, as our enemies can bear record.

Loth I am to compare these things together, and yet I do it, not because there is any comparison at all betwixt them, but thereby a man shall see how good

the one is, how evil the other. For I think there is scarce so much contrariousness betwixt hot and cold, virtue and vice, as is betwixt these two things: for whatsoever is in the one, the clean contrary is in the other, as shall plainly appear, if we consider both their beginnings, their increasings, their fructes, and their ends, which I will soon rid over.

The first bringer into the world of shooting was Apollo, which, for his wisdom, and great commodities brought amongst men by him, was esteemed worthy to be counted as a god in heaven.

Dicing surely is a bastard born, because it is said to have two fathers, and yet both naught: the one was an ungracious god, called Theuth, which for his naughtiness, came never in other gods' companies, and therefore Homer doth despise once to name him in all his works. The other father was a Lydian born, which people, for such games and other unthriftiness, as bowling and haunting of taverns, have been ever had in most vile reputation in all stories and writers.

The fosterer of shooting is labour, that companion of virtue, the maintainer of honesty, the increaser of health and wealthiness, which admitteth nothing, in a manner, into his company, that standeth not with virtue and honesty; and therefore saith the old poet Epicharmus very prettily in Xenophon, that God selleth virtue and all other good things to men for labour. The nurse of dice and cards is wearisome idleness, enemy of virtue, the drowner of youth that tarrieth in it, and as Chaucer doth say very well in the Parson's Tale, the green path-way to hell, having this thing appropriate unto it, that whereas other vices have some cloak of honesty, only idleness can neither do well nor yet think well. Again, shooting hath two tutors to look upon it, out

of whose company shooting never stirreth, the one called Daylight, the other Open Place, which two keep shooting from evil company, and suffers it not to have too much swing, but evermore keeps it under awe, that it dare do nothing in the open face of the world but that which is good and honest. Likewise, dicing and carding have two tutors, the one named solitariousness, which lurketh in holes and corners; the other called night, an ungracious cover of naughtiness, which two things be very inn-keepers and receivers of all naughtiness and naughty things, and thereto they be in a manner ordained by nature. For, on the night time and in corners, spirits and thieves, rats and mice, toads and owls, night-crows and pole-cats, foxes and foumards,* with all other vermin and noisome beasts, use most stirring; when in the day-light and open places, which be ordained of God for honest things, they dare not once come, which thing Euripides noteth very well, saying,

Ill things the night, good things the day, doth haunt and use.

Companions of shooting, be providence, good heedgiving, true meting, honest comparison, which things agree with virtue very well. Carding and dicing have a sort of good fellows also going commonly in their company, as blind fortune, stumbling chance, spittle luck, false dealing, crafty conveyance, brainless brawling, false forswearing; which good fellows will soon take a man by the sleeve and cause him take his inn, some with beggary, some with gout and dropsy, some with theft and robbery, and seldom they will leave a man before he come either to hanging or else some

* *Foumards*, by others called *fumarts*, are, I believe, what we now call more commonly Stoats.

other extreme misery. To make an end, how shooting by all men's laws hath been allowed, carding and dicing by all men's judgments condemned, I need not show, the matter is so plain.

Therefore when the Lydians shall invent better things than Apollo, when sloth and idleness shall increase virtue more than labour, when the night and lurking corners giveth less occasion to unthriftiness than light day and openness, then shall shooting and such gaming be in some comparison like. Yet even as I do not show all the goodness which is in shooting, when I prove it standeth by the same things that virtue itself standeth by, as brought in by God or god-like men, fostered by labour, committed to the safeguard of light and openness, accompanied with provision and diligence, loved and allowed by every good man's sentence: even likewise do I not open half the naughtiness which is in carding and dicing, when I show how they are born of a desperate mother, nourished in idleness, increased by licence of night and corners, accompanied with fortune, chance, deceit, and craftiness; condemned and banished by all laws and judgments.

For if I would enter to describe the monstruousness of it, I should rather wander in it, it is so broad, than have any ready passage to the end of the matter; whose horribleness is so large, that it passed the eloquence of our English Homer to compass it; yet because I ever thought his sayings to have as much authority as either Sophocles or Euripides in Greek, therefore gladly do I remember these verses of his:

> Hasardry is very mother of lesings,
> And of deceit, and cursed forswearings;
> Blasphemy of Christ, manslaughter, and waste also
> Of cattle, of time, of other things mo.

*Mother of lesings.**] Truly it may well be called so, if a man consider how many ways and how many things he loseth thereby; for first, he loseth his goods, he loseth his time, he loseth quickness of wit, and all good lust to other things; he loseth honest company, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at last, if he leave it not, loseth God and heaven and all; and, instead of these things, winneth at length either hanging or hell.

And of deceit.] I trow, if I should not lie, there is not half so much craft used in no one thing in the world as in this cursed thing. What false dice use they? As dice stopped with quicksilver and hairs, dice of a vantage, flats, gourds to chop and change when they list; to let the true dice fall under the table and so take up the false; and if they be true dice, what shift will they make to set the one of them with sliding, with cogging, with foisting, with quoiting as they call it? How will they use these shifts when they get a plain man that can no skill of them? How will they go about if they perceive an honest man have money, which list not play, to provoke him to play? They will seek his company, they will let him pay nought, yea, and as I heard a man once say that he did, they will send for him to some house and spend perchance a crown on him, and, at last, will one begin to say: What, my masters, what shall we do? shall every man play his twelve-pence whiles an apple roast in the fire, and then we will drink and depart? Nay, will another say (as false as he), you cannot leave when you begin, and therefore I will not play; but if you will gage that every man, as he hath lost his twelve-pence, shall sit down, I am content; for surely I would win no

* I doubt whether our author has not mistaken the sense of Chaucer: I rather take *lesings* to be *lies* than *losses*.

man's money here, but even as much as would pay for my supper. Then speaketh the third to the honest man that thought not to play, What! will you play your twelve-pence? If he excuse him; Tush man, will the other say, stick not in honest company for twelve-pence; I will bear your half, and here is my money.

Now all this is to make him to begin, for they know if he be once in, and be a loser, that he will not stick at his twelve-pence, but hopeth ever to get it again, while perhaps he lose all. Then every one of them setteth his shifts abroach, some with false dice, some with setting of dice, some with having outlandish silver coins gilded to put away at a time for good gold. Then, if there come a thing in controversy, must you be judged by the table, and then farewell the honest man his part, for he is borne down on every side.

Now, Sir, beside all these things, they have certain terms (as a man would say) appropriate to their playing; whereby they will draw a man's money but pay none, which they call bars, that surely he that knoweth them not may soon be debarred of all that ever he hath, afore he learn them. If a plain man lose, as he shall do ever, or else it is a wonder, then the game is so devilish that he can never leave; for vain hope (which hope, saith Euripides, destroyeth many a man and city) driveth him on so far, that he can never return back until he be so light that he need fear no thieves by the way. Now if a simple man happen once in his life to win of such players, then will they either entreat him to keep them company whilst he hath lost all again, or else they will use the most devilish fashion of all, for one of the players that standeth next him shall have a pair of false dice and cast them out upon the board, the honest man shall take them and cast them as he did the

other, the third shall espy them to be false dice, and shall cry out hard, with all the oaths under God, that he hath falsely won their money, and then there is nothing but hold thy throat from my dagger; every man layeth hand on the simple man and taketh all their money from him, and his own also, thinking himself well that he escapeth with his life.

Cursed swearing, blasphemy of Christ.] These half verses Chaucer, in another place, more at large doth well set out and very lively express, saying,

> "Ey by Goddes precious heart and by his nails,
> And by the blood of Christ, that is in Hales,
> Seven is my chance, and thine is cinque and trey,
> By Goddes armes, if thou falsely play,
> This dagger shall thorough thine hearte go."
> This fruit cometh of the beched bones two,
> Forswearing, ire, falseness, and homicide, &c.

Though these verses be very earnestly written, yet they do not half so grisly set out the horribleness of blasphemy which such gamers use, as it is indeed, and as I have heard myself. For no man can write a thing so earnestly, as when it is spoken with gesture, as learned men, you know, do say. How will you think that such furiousness, with wood countenance, and brenning eyes, with staring and bragging, with heart ready to leap out of the belly for swelling, can be expressed the tenth part to the uttermost. Two men I heard myself, whose sayings be far more grisly than Chaucer's verses. One when he had lost his money, sware me God from top to the toe with one breath, that he had lost all his money for lack of swearing; the other losing his money and heaping oaths upon oaths one in another's neck, most horrible and not speakable, was rebuked of an honest man which stood by for so

doing; he, by and by, staring him in the face, and clapping his fist with all his money he had upon the board, sware me by the flesh of God, that, if swearing would help him but one ace, he would not leave one piece of God unsworn, neither within nor without. The remembrance of this blasphemy, Philologe, doth make me quake at the heart, and therefore I will speak no more of it.

And so to conclude with such gaming, I think there is no ungraciousness in all this world that carrieth a man so far from God as this fault doth. And if there were any so desperate a person that would begin his hell in earth, I trow he should not find hell more like hell itself, than the life of those men is which daily haunt and use such ungracious games.

Phi. You handle this gere indeed; and I suppose, if you had been a prentice at such games, you could not have said more of them than you have done, and by like you have had somewhat to do with them.

Tox. Indeed, you may honestly gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speak against them; not that I have used them greatly, in that I speak of them. For things be known divers ways, as Socrates (you know) doth prove in Alcibiades. And if every man should be that, that he speaketh or written upon, then should Homer have been the best captain, most coward, hardy, hasty, wise and wood, sage and simple; and Terence an old man and a young, an honest man and a bawd; with such like. Surely every man ought to pray to God daily to keep them from such unthriftiness, and especially all the youth of England; for what youth doth begin, a man will follow commonly, even to his dying day; which thing Adrastus, in Euripides, prettily doth express, saying,

What thing a man in tender age hath most in ure,
That same to death always to keep he shall be sure,
Therefore in age who greatly longs good fruit to mow,
In youth he must himself apply good seed to sow.

For the foundation of youth well set (as Plato doth say), the whole body of the commonwealth shall flourish thereafter. If the young tree grow crooked, when it is old a man shall rather break it than straight it. And I think there is no one thing that crooks youth more than such unlawful games. Nor let no man say, if they be honestly used they do no harm. For how can that pastime which neither exerciseth the body with any honest labour, nor yet the mind with any honest thinking, have any honesty joined with it? Nor let no man assure himself that he can use it honestly; for if he stand therein he may fortune have a fall, the thing is more slippery than he knoweth of. A man may (I grant) sit on a brant hill side, but if he give never so little forward, he cannot stop, though he would never so fain, but he must needs run headlong, he knoweth not how far. What honest pretences vain pleasure layeth daily (as it were enticements or baits to pull men forward withal) Homer doth well show by the Sirens and Circes. And amongst all in that ship, there was but one Ulysses, and yet he had done too as the other did, if a goddess had not taught him; and so likewise, I think, they be easy to number which pass by playing honestly, except the grace of God save and keep them. Therefore they that will not go too far in playing, let them follow this counsel of the poet:

Stop the beginnings.

Phi. Well, or you go any further, I pray you tell me this one thing: Do ye speak against mean men's playing only, or against great men's playing too, or put you any difference betwixt them?

Tox. If I should excuse myself herein, and say that I spake of the one and not of the other, I fear lest I should as fondly excuse myself, as a certain preacher did, whom I heard upon a time speak against many abuses (as he said), and, at last, he spake against candles, and then he fearing lest some men would have been angry and offended with him, Nay, saith he, you must take me as I mean: I speak not against great candles, but against little candles, for they be not all one (quoth he), I promise you: and so every man laughed him to scorn.

Indeed, as for great men, and great men's matters, I list not greatly to meddle. Yet this I would wish, that all great men in England had read over diligently the Pardoner's Tale in Chaucer, and there they should perceive and see how much such games stand with their worship, how great soever they be. What great men do, be it good or ill, mean men commonly love to follow, as many learned men in many places do say, and daily experience doth plainly show, in costly apparel and other like matters.

Therefore, seeing that lords be lanterns to lead the life of mean men, by their example, either to goodness or badness, to whither soever they list; and seeing also they have liberty to list what they will, I pray God they have will to list that which is good; and as for their playing, I will make an end with this saying of Chaucer:

> Lords might find them other manner of play,
> Honest enough to drive the day away.

But to be short, the best medicine for all sorts of men, both high and low, young and old, to put away such unlawful games, is by the contrary, likewise as all physicians do allow in physic. So let youth, instead of such unlawful games, which stand by idleness, by

solitariness, and corners, by night and darkness, by fortune and chance, by craft and subtilty, use such pastimes as stand by labour, upon the daylight, in open sight of men, having such an end as is come to by cunning, rather than by craft; and so should virtue increase and vice decay. For contrary pastimes must needs work contrary minds in men, as all other contrary things do.

And thus we see, Philologe, that shooting is not only the most wholesome exercise for the body, the most honest pastime for the mind, and that for all sorts of men; but also it is a most ready medicine to purge the whole realm of such pestilent gaming, wherewith many times it is sore troubled and ill at ease.

Phi. The more honesty you have proved by shooting, Toxophile, and the more you have persuaded me to love it, so much truly the sorer have you made me with this last sentence of yours, whereby you plainly prove that a man may not greatly use it. For if shooting be a medicine (as you say that it is), it may not be used very oft, lest a man should hurt himself withal, as medicines much occupied do. For Aristotle himself saith, that medicines be no meat to live withal; and thus shooting, by the same reason, may not be much occupied.

Tox. You play your old wonts, Philologus, in dallying with other men's wits, not so much to prove your own matter, as to prove what other men can say. But where you think that I take away much use of shooting, in likening it to a medicine; because men use not medicines every day, for so should their bodies be hurt; I rather prove daily use of shooting thereby. For although Aristotle saith that some medicines be no meat to live withal, which is true; yet Hippocrates

saith that our daily meats be medicines, to withstand evil withal, which is as true; for he maketh two kinds of medicines, one our meat that we use daily, which purgeth softly and slowly, and in this similitude may shooting be called a medicine, wherewith daily a man may purge and take away all unleful desires to other unleful pastimes, as I proved before. The other is a quick purging medicine, and seldomer to be occupied, except the matter be greater; and I could describe the nature of a quick medicine, which should within a while purge and pluck out all the unthrifty games in the realm, through which the commonwealth oftentimes is sick. For not only good quick wits to learning be thereby brought out of frame, and quite marred, but also manly wits, either to attempt matters of high courage in war time, or else to achieve matters of weight and wisdom in peace time, be made thereby very quaisy and faint. For look throughout all histories written in Greek, Latin, or other language, and you shall never find that realm prosper in the which such idle pastimes are used. As concerning the medicine, although some would be miscontent if they heard me meddle any thing with it; yet, betwixt you and me here alone, I may the boldlier say my fantasy, and the rather because I will only wish for it, which standeth with honesty, not determine of it, which belongeth to authority. The medicine is this, that would to God and the king all these unthrifty idle pastimes, which be very bugs that the Psalm meaneth on, walking on the night and in corners, were made felony, and some of that punishment ordained for them which is appointed for the forgers and falsifiers of the King's coin. Which punishment is not by me now invented, but long ago, by the most noble orator Demosthenes,

which marvelleth greatly that death is appointed for falsifiers and forgers of the coin, and not as great punishment ordained for them which by their means forges and falsifies the commonwealth. And I suppose that there is no one thing that changeth sooner the golden and silver wits of men into coppery and brassy ways than dicing and such unleful pastimes.

And this quick medicine, I believe, would so thoroughly purge them, that the daily medicines, as shooting and other pastimes, joined with honest labour, should easilier withstand them.

Phi. The excellent commodities of shooting in peace time, Toxophile, you have very well and sufficiently declared. Whereby you have so persuaded me, that, God willing, hereafter I will both love it the better, and also use it the ofter. For as much as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tongue, the nose, the hands, and the feet, be no fitter members or instruments for the body of a man, than is shooting for the whole body of the realm. God hath made the parts of men which be best and most necessary, to serve, not for one purpose only, but for many; as the tongue for speaking and tasting; the nose for smelling, and also for avoiding all excrements which fall out of the head; the hands for receiving of good things, and for putting of [off] all harmful things from the body. So shooting is an exercise of health, a pastime of honest pleasure, and such one also that stoppeth or avoideth all noisome games, gathered and increased by ill rule, as naughty humours be, which hurt and corrupt sore that part of the realm wherein they do remain.

But now if you can show but half so much profit in war of shooting, as you have proved pleasure in peace, then will I surely judge that there be few things that

have so manifold commodities and uses joined unto them as it hath.

Tox. The upper hand in war, next the goodness of God (of whom all victory cometh, as Scripture saith), standeth chiefly in three things; in the wisdom of the prince, in the sleights and policies of the capitains, and in the strength and cheerful forwardness of the soldiers. A prince in his heart must be full of mercy and peace, a virtue most pleasant to Christ, most agreeable to man's nature, most profitable for rich and poor; for then the rich man enjoyeth with great pleasure that which he hath: the poor may obtain with his labour that which he lacketh. And although there is nothing worse than war,* whereof it taketh his name, through the which great men be in danger, mean men without succour; rich men in fear, because they have somewhat; poor men in care, because they have nothing; and every man in thought and misery: yet it is a civil medicine, wherewith a Prince may, from the body of his commonwealth, put off that danger which may fall, or else recover again whatsoever it hath lost. And therefore, as Isocrates doth say, a Prince must be a warrior in two things, in conning and knowledge of all sleights and feats of war, and in having all necessary habiliments belonging to the same. Which matter to entreat at large, were over-long at this time to declare, and overmuch for my learning to perform.

After the wisdom of the Prince, are valiant capitains most necessary in war, whose office and duty is to know all sleights and policies for all kinds of war, which they may learn two ways, either in daily following and

* *War* is an old word, still used in some counties for *worse*; and Ascham supposes that *war* or hostility is so named, because it is *war* or *worse* than peace.

haunting the wars, or else, because wisdom bought with stripes is many time over-costly, they may bestow some time in Vegetius, which entreateth such matters in Latin meetly well; or rather in Polyænus, and Leo the Emperor, which setteth out all policies and duties of capitains in the Greek tongue very excellently. But chiefly I would wish, and (if I were of authority) I would counsel, all the young gentlemen of this realm, never to lay out of their hands two authors, Xenophon in Greek, and Cæsar in Latin, wherein they should follow noble Scipio Africanus, as Tully doth say; in which two authors, besides eloquence, a thing most necessary of all other for a captain, they should learn the whole course of war, which those two noble men did not more wisely write for other men to learn, than they did manfully exercise in the field for other men to follow.

The strength of war lieth in the soldier, whose chief praise and virtue is obedience towards his captain, saith Plato. And Xenophon, being a Gentile author, most Christianly doth say, even by these words, that that soldier which first serveth God, and then obeyeth his captain, may boldly, with all courage, hope to overthrow his enemy. Again, without obedience, neither valiant man, stout horse, nor goodly harness, doth any good at all; which obedience of the soldier toward his captain, brought the whole empire of the world into the Romans' hands, and, when it was brought, kept it longer than ever it was kept in any commonwealth before or after. And this to be true, Scipio Africanus, the most noble captain that ever was among the Romans, showed very plainly, what time as he went into Africa to destroy Carthage. For he resting his host by the way in Sicily a day or two and at a time standing with a great man of Sicily,

and looking on his soldiers how they exercised themselves in keeping of array, and other feats, the gentleman of Sicily asked Scipio wherein lay his chief hope to overcome Carthage? He answered, In yonder fellows of mine whom you see play. And why? saith the other. Because, saith Scipio, that, if I commanded them to run into the top of this high castle, and cast themselves down backward upon these rocks, I am sure they would do it. Sallust also doth write, that there were more Romans put to death of their captains for setting on their enemies before they had licence, than were for running away out of the field before they had fought. These two examples do prove, that amongst the Romans, the obedience of the soldier was wonderful great, and the severity of the captains to see the same kept, wonderful strait. For they well perceived that an host full of obedience, falleth as seldom into the hands of their enemies, as that body falleth into jeopardy, the which is ruled by reason. Reason and rulers being like in office (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the body of the commonwealth), ought to be like of conditions, and ought to be obeyed in all manner of matters. Obedience is nourished by fear and love; fear is kept in by true justice and equity; love is gotten by wisdom, joined with liberality. For where a soldier seeth righteousness so rule, that a man can do neither wrong, nor yet take wrong, and that his captain for his wisdom can maintain him, and for his liberality will maintain him, he must needs both love him and fear him, of the which proceedeth true and unfeigned obedience. After this inward virtue, the next good point in a soldier is to have and to handle his weapon well; whereof the one must be at the appointment of the captain, the

other lieth in the courage and exercise of the soldier. Yet of all weapons, the best is, as Euripides doth say, wherewith with least danger of ourself we may hurt our enemy most. And that is (as I suppose) artillery. Artillery, now-a-days, is taken for two things, guns and bows; which, how much they do in war, both daily experience doth teach, and also Peter Nannius, a learned man of Lovain, in a certain dialogue doth very well set out; wherein this is most notable, that when he hath showed exceeding commodities of both, and some discommodities of guns, as infinite cost and charge, cumbersome carriage, and, if they be great, the uncertain levelling, the peril of them that stand by them, the easier avoiding by them that stand far off; and, if they be little, the less both fear and jeopardy is in them, beside all contrary weather and wind, which hindereth them not a little; yet of all shooting he cannot rehearse one discommodity.

Phi. That I marvel greatly at, seeing Nannius is so well learned, and so exercised in the authors of both the tongues; for I myself do remember that shooting in war is but smally praised, and that of divers captains in divers authors. For first in Euripides, whom you so highly praise (and very well, for Tully thinketh every verse in him to be an authority), what, I pray you, doth Lycus, that overcame Thebes, say as concerning shooting? whose words, as far as I remember, be these, or not much unlike:

What praise hath he at all, which never durst abide,
The dint of a spear's point thrust against his side?
Nor never boldly buckler bore yet in his left hand,
Face to face his enemies' bront stiffly to withstand,
But alway trusteth to a bow, and to a feather'd stick,
Harness ever most fit for him which to fly is quick:
Bow and shaft is armour meetest for a coward,
Which dare not once abide the bront of battle sharp and hard

But he a man of manhood most is by mine assent,
Which with heart and courage bold, fully hath him bent
His enemies' look in every stour stoutly to abide,
Face to face, and foot to foot, tide what may betide.

Again, Teucer, the best archer among all the Grecians, in Sophocles, is called of Menelaus a bowman, and a shooter, as in villainy and reproach, to be a thing of no price in war. Moreover, Pandarus, the best shooter in the world, whom Apollo himself taught to shoot, both he and his shooting is quite contemned in Homer, in so much that Homer (which under a made fable doth always hide his judgment of things) doth make Pandarus himself cry out of shooting, and cast his bow away, and take him to a spear, making a vow, that if ever he came home he would break his shafts and burn his bow, lamenting greatly that he was so fond to leave at home his horse and chariot with other weapons, for the trust that he had in his bow. Homer signifying thereby, that men should leave shooting out of war, and take them to other weapons more fit and able for the same; and I trow Pandarus's words be much what after this sort:

I'll chance, ill luck me hither brought,
Ill fortune me that day befell,
When first my bow fro the pin I raught,
For Hector's sake, the Greeks to quell.
But if that God so for me shape,
That home again I may once come,
Let me never enjoy that hap,
Nor ever twice look on the sun,
If bow and shafts I do not burn,
Which now so evil doth serve my turn.

But to let pass all poets, what can be sorer said against any thing than the judgment of Cyrus is against shooting, which doth cause his Persians, being

the best shooters, to lay away their bows and take them to swords and bucklers, spears and darts, and other like hand-weapons? The which thing Xenophon, so wise a philosopher, so expert a captain in war himself, would never have written, and specially in that book wherein he purposed to show, as Tully saith indeed, not the true history, but the example of a perfect wise Prince and commonwealth, except that judgment of changing artillery into other weapons he had always thought best to be followed in all war. Whose counsel the Parthians did follow, when they chased Antony over the mountains of Media, which being the best shooters of the world, left their bows and took them to spears and morispikes. And these few examples, I trow, of the best shooters, do well prove that the best shooting is not the best thing, as you call it, in war.

Tox. As concerning your first example, taken out of Euripides, I marvel you will bring it for the dispraise of shooting, seeing Euripides doth make those verses, not because he thinketh them true, but because he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them. For indeed his true judgment of shooting, he doth express by and by after in the oration of the noble captain Amphitryo against Lycus, wherein a man may doubt whether he hath more eloquently confuted Lycus's saying, or more worthily set out the praise of shooting. And as I am advised, his words be much hereafter as I shall say.

Against the witty gift of shooting in a bow,
Fond and lewd words thou lewdly dost out throw,
Which if thou wilt hear of me a word or twain
Quickly thou mayest learn how fondly thou dost blame.
First, he that with his harness himself doth wall about,

That scarce is left one hole through which he may peep out,
Such bond men to their harness to fight are nothing meet,
But soonest of all other are trodden under feet.
If he be strong, his fellows faint, in whom he putteth his trust,
So loaded with his harness he must needs lie in the dust,
Nor yet from death he cannot start, if once his weapon break,
How stout, how strong, how great, how long soever be such a freak.
But whosoever can handle a bow, sturdy, stiff, and strong,
Wherewith like hail many shafts he shoots into the thickest throng;
This profit he takes, that standing afar his enemies he may spill,
When he and his full safe shall stand, out of all danger and ill.
And this in war is wisdom most, which works our enemies woe,
When we shall be far from all fear and jeopardy of our foe.

Secondarily, even as I do not greatly regard what Menelaus doth say in Sophocles to Teucer, because he spake it both in anger, and also to him that he hated; even so do I remember very well in Homer, that when Hector and the Trojans would have set fire on the Greek ships, Teucer, with his bow, made them recoil back again, when Menelaus took him to his feet and ran away.

Thirdly, as concerning Pandarus, Homer doth not dispraise the noble gift of shooting, but thereby every man is taught, that whatsoever, and how good soever a weapon a man doth use in war, if he be himself a covetous wretch, a fool without counsel, a peace-breaker, as Pandarus was, at last he shall, through the punishment of God, fall into his enemies' hands, as Pandarus did, whom Diomedes, through the help of Minerva, miserably slew.

And, because you make mention of Homer and Troy matters, what can be more praise for any thing, I pray

you, than that is for shooting, that Troy could never be destroyed without the help of Hercules shafts, which thing doth signify, that, although all the world were gathered in an army together, yet, without shooting, they can never come to their purpose; as Ulysses, in Sophocles, very plainly doth say unto Pyrrhus, as concerning Hercules shafts to be carried into Troy:

Nor you without them, nor without you they do aught.

Fourthly, whereas Cyrus did change part of his bowmen, whereof he had plenty, into other men of war, whereof he lacked, I will not greatly dispute whether Cyrus did well in that point in those days or no; because it is plain in Xenophon how strong shooters the Persians were, what bows they had, what shafts and heads they occupied, what kind of war their enemies used.

But truly, as for the Parthians, it is plain in Plutarch, that, in changing their bows into spears, they brought their self into utter destruction. For when they had chased the Romans many a mile, through reason of their bows, at the last the Romans, ashamed of their flying, and remembering their old nobleness and courage, imagined this way, that they would kneel down on their knees, and so cover all their body with their shields and targets, that the Parthians' shafts might slide over them, and do them no harm; which thing when the Parthians perceived, thinking that the Romans were forwearied with labour, watch, and hunger, they laid down their bows and took spears in their hands, and so ran upon them; but the Romans perceiving them without their bows, rose up manfully, and slew them every mother's son, save a few that saved themselves with running away. And herein our

archers of England far pass the Parthians, which for such a purpose, when they shall come to hand-strokes, hath ever ready, either at his back hanging, or else in his next fellow's hand, a leaden maul, or such-like weapon, to beat down his enemies withal.

Phi. Well, Toxophile, seeing that those examples which I had thought to have been clean against shooting, you have thus turned to the high praise of shooting; and all this praise that you have now said on it, is rather come in by me than sought for of you: let me hear I pray you now, those examples which you have marked of shooting yourself: whereby you are persuaded, and think to persuade others, that shooting is so good in war.

Tox. Examples surely I have marked very many; from the beginning of time had in memory of writing, throughout all commonwealths and empires of the world; whereof the most part I will pass over, lest I should be tedious: yet some I will touch, because they be notable both for me to tell and you to hear.

And because the story of the Jews is for the time most ancient, for the truth most credible, it shall be most fit to begin with them. And although I know that God is the only giver of victory, and not the weapons, for all strength and victory (saith Judas Maccabeus) cometh from Heaven; yet surely strong weapons be the instruments wherewith God doth overcome that part which he will have overthrown. For God is well pleased with wise and witty feats of war: as in meeting of enemies, for truce taking, to have privily in ambushment harnessed men laid for fear of treason, as Judas Maccabeus did with Nicanor, Demetrius captain. And to have engines of war to beat down cities withal; and to have scout watch

amongst our enemies to know their counsels, as the noble captain Jonathan, brother to Judas Maccabeus, did in the country of Amathie, against the mighty host of Demetrius. And, beside all this, God is pleased to have goodly tombs for them which do noble feats in war, and to have their images made, and also their coat armours to be set above their tombs, to their perpetual laud and memory! as the valiant captain Simon did cause to be made for his brethren Judas Maccabeus and Jonathan, when they were slain of the Gentiles. And thus, of what authority feats of war and strong weapons be, shortly and plainly we may learn. But amongst the Jews, as I begin to tell, I am sure there was nothing so occupied, or did so much good as bows did; insomuch, that when the Jews had any great upper-hand over the Gentiles, the first thing always that the captain did, was to exhort the people to give all the thanks to God for the victory, and not to their bows, wherewith they had slain their enemies; as it is plain the noble Joshua did after so many kings thrust down by him.

God, when he promiseth help to the Jews, he useth no kind of speaking so much as this, that he will bend his bow and dye his shafts in the Gentiles' blood; whereby it is manifest, that either God will make the Jews shoot strong shoots to overthrow their enemies, or, at least, that shooting is a wonderful mighty thing in war, whereunto the high power of God is likened. David, in the Psalms, calleth bows the vessels of death, a bitter thing, and, in another place, a mighty power, and other ways mo, which I will let pass, because every man readeth them daily; but yet one place of Scripture I must needs remember, which is more notable for the praise of shooting than any that ever I read in any other story: and that is, when Saul

was slain of the Philistines, being mighty bowmen, and Jonathas his son with him, that was so good a shooter, as the Scripture saith, that he never shot shaft in vain, and that the kingdom, after Saul's death, came unto David; the first statute and law that ever David made after he was King, was this, that all the children of Israel should learn to shoot, according to a law made many a day before that time, for the setting out of shooting, as it is written (saith Scripture) in *Libro Justorum*, which book we have not now. And thus we see plainly what great use of shooting, and what provision even from the beginning of the world for shooting, was among the Jews.

The Ethiopians, which inhabit the farthest part south in the world, were wonderful bowmen; insomuch that when Cambyses, King of Persia, being in Egypt, sent certain ambassadors into Ethiopia, to the King there, with many great gifts, the King of Ethiope perceiving them to be espies, took them up sharply, and blamed Cambyses greatly for such unjust enterprises; but after that he had princely entertained them, he sent for a bow, and bent it and drew it, and then unbent it again, and said unto the ambassadors, you shall commend me to Cambyses, and give him this bow from me, and bid him, when any Persian can shoot in this bow, let him set upon the Ethiopians; in the mean while let him give thanks unto God, which doth not put in the Ethiopians' minds to conquer any other man's land.

This bow, when it came among the Persians, never one man in such an infinite host (as Herodotus doth say) could stir the string, save only Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, which stirred it two fingers, and no further; for the which act Cambyses had such envy at him, that he afterward slew him; as doth appear in the story.

Sesostris, the most mighty King that ever was in Egypt, overcame a great part of the world, and that by archers: he subdued the Arabians, the Jews, the Assyrians: he went farther in Scythia than any man else: he overcame Thracia, even to the borders of Germany. And, in token how he overcame all men, he set up in many places great images to his own likeness, having in the one hand a bow, in the other a sharp-headed shaft; that men might know what weapon his host used in conquering so many people.

Cyrus, counted as a god among the Gentiles, for his nobleness and felicity in war; yet, at the last, when he set upon the Massagetanes, (which people never went without their bow nor their quiver, neither in war nor peace,) he and all his were slain, and that by shooting, as appeareth in the story.

Polycrates, the Prince of Samos (a very little isle), was lord over all the Greek seas, and withstood the power of the Persians, only by the help of a thousand archers.

The people of Scythia, of all other men, loved and used most shooting; the whole riches and household stuff of a man in Scythia was a yoke of oxen, a plough, his nag and his dog, his bow and his quiver; which quiver was covered with the skin of a man, which he took or slew first in battle. The Scythians to be invincible, by reason of their shooting, the great voyages of so many noble conquerors, spent in that country in vain, doth well prove: but specially that of Darius the mighty King of Persia, which, when he had tarried there a great space and done no good, but had forwearied his host with travail and hunger; at last the men of Scythia sent an ambassador with four gifts, a bird, a frog, a mouse, and five shafts. Darius, marvel-

ling at the strangeness of the gifts, asked the messenger what they signified: the messenger answered, that he had no further commandment, but only to deliver his gifts and return again with all speed: "But I am sure," saith he, "you Persians for your great wisdom can soon bolt out what they mean." When the messenger was gone, every man began to say his verdict. Darius judgment was this: that the Scythians gave over into the Persians hands their lives, their whole power both by land and sea, signifying by the mouse the earth, by the frog the water, in which they both live, by the bird their lives which live in the air; by the shaft their whole power and empire, that was maintained always by shooting. Gobryas, a noble and wise captain among the Persians, was of a clean contrary mind, saying, "Nay, not so, but the Scythians mean thus by their gifts; that except we get us wings, and fly into the air like birds, or run into the holes of the earth like mice, or else lie lurking in fens and marshes like frogs, we shall never return home again, before we be utterly undone with their shafts:" which sentence sank so sore into their hearts, that Darius, with all speed possible, brake up his camp and got himself homeward. Yet how much the Persians themselves set by shooting, whereby they increased their empire so much, doth appear by three manifest reasons: First, that they brought up their youth in the school of shooting under twenty year of age, as divers noble Greek authors do say.

Again, because the noble King Darius thought himself to be praised by nothing so much as to be counted a good shooter, as doth appear by his sepulchre, wherein he caused to be written this sentence:

> Darius the King lieth buried here,
> That in shooting and riding had never peer.

Thirdly, the coin of the Persians, both gold and silver, had the arms of Persia upon it, as is customably used in other realms, and that was bow and arrows; by the which feat they declared how much they set by them.

The Grecians also, but specially the noble Athenians, had all their strength lying in artillery; and, for that purpose, the city of Athens had a thousand men, which were only archers, in daily wages, to watch and keep the city from all jeopardy and sudden danger; which archers also should carry to prison and ward any misdoer at the commandment of the high officers, as plainly doth appear in Plato. And surely the bowmen of Athens did wonderful feats in many battles, but specially when Demosthenes, the valiant captain, slew and took prisoners all the Lacedæmonians, beside the city of Pylos, where Nestor some time was lord: the shafts went so thick that day (saith Thucydides) that no man could see their enemies. A Lacedæmonian, taken prisoner, was asked of one at Athens, whether they were stout fellows that were slain or no, of the Lacedæmonians? He answered nothing else but this: "Make much of those shafts of yours, for they know neither stout nor unstout;" meaning thereby, that no man (though he were never so stout) came in their walk that escaped without death.

Herodotus, describing the mighty host of Xerxes, especially doth mark out what bows and shafts they used, signifying that therein lay their chief strength. And at the same time Atossa, mother of Xerxes, wife to Darius, and daughter of Cyrus, doth enquire (as Æschylus showeth in a tragedy) of a certain messenger that came from Xerxes host, what strong and fearful bows the Grecians used: whereby it is plain, that artillery was the thing wherein both Europe and Asia in those days trusted most upon.

The best part of Alexander's host were archers, as

plainly doth appear by Arrianus, and other that wrote his life; and those so strong archers, that they only, sundry times overcame their enemies afore any other needed to fight; as was seen in the battle which Nearchus, one of Alexander's captains, had beside the river Thomeron. And therefore, as concerning all these kingdoms and commonwealths, I may conclude with this sentence of Pliny, whose words be, as I suppose, thus: "If any man would remember the Ethiopians, Egyptians, Arabians, the men of Inde, of Scythia, so many people in the east of the Sarmatians, and all the kingdoms of the Parthians, he shall well perceive half the part of the world to live in subjection, overcome by the might and power of shooting."

In the commonwealth of Rome, which exceeded all other in virtue, nobleness, and dominion, little mention is made of shooting, not because it was little used amongst them, but rather because it was so necessary and common, that it was thought a thing not necessary or required of any man to be spoken upon; as if a man should describe a great feast, he would not once name bread, although it be most common and necessary of all; but surely, if a feast, being never so great, lacked bread, or had fusty and naughty bread, all the other dainties should be unsavory and little regarded, and then would men talk of the commodity of bread, when they lack it, that would not once name it afore, when they had it; and even so did the Romans, as concerning shooting. Seldom is shooting named, and yet it did the most good in war, as did appear very plainly in that battle which Scipio Africanus had with the Numantines in Spain, whom he could never overcome, before he set bowmen amongst his horsemen, by whose might they were clean vanquished.

Again, Tiberius, fighting with Arminus and In-

guiomerus, princes of Germany, had one wing of archers on horseback, another of archers on foot, by whose might the Germans were slain downright, and so scattered and beat out of the field, that the chase lasted ten miles; the Germans clame up into trees for fear, but the Romans did fetch them down with their shafts, as they had been birds, in which battle the Romans lost few or none, as doth appear in the history.

But, as I began to say, the Romans did not so much praise the goodness of shooting when they had it, as they did lament the lack of it when they wanted it; as Leo V, the noble Emperor, doth plainly testify in sundry places, in those books which he wrote in Greek, of the sleights and policies of war.

Phi. Surely of that book I have not heard before; and how came you to the sight of it?

Tox. The book is rare truly; but this last year, when Master Cheke translated the said book out of Greek into Latin, to the King's Majesty, he, of his gentleness, would have me very oft in his chamber, and, for the familiarity that I had with him, more than many other, would suffer me to read of it, when I would; the which thing to do surely I was very desirous and glad, because of the excellent handling of all things that ever he taketh in hand. And verily, Philologe, as oft as I remember the departing of that man from the University, (which thing I do not seldom), so oft do I well perceive our most help and furtherance to learning, to have gone away with him. For, by the great commodity that we took in hearing him read privately in his chamber, all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Plato, we feel the great discommodity in not hearing of him Aristotle and Demosthenes, which two authors, with all diligence,

last of all, he thought to have read unto us. And when I consider how many men be succoured with his help, and his aid to abide here for learning, and how all men were provoked and stirred up by his counsel and daily example how they should come to learning, surely I perceive that sentence of Plato to be true, which sayeth: "that there is nothing better in any commonwealth, than that there should be always one or other excellent passing man, whose life and virtue should pluck forward the will, diligence, labour, and hope of all other; that, following his footsteps, they might come to the same end, whereunto labour, learning, and virtue had conveyed him before."

The great hinderance of learning, in lacking this man, greatly I should lament, if this discommodity of ours were not joined with the commodity and health of the whole realm; for which purpose our noble King, full of wisdom, called up this excellent man, full of learning, to teach noble Prince Edward; an office full of hope, comfort, and solace to all true hearts of England; for whom all England daily doth pray, that he, passing his tutor in learning and knowledge, following his father in wisdom and felicity, according to that example which is set afore his eyes, may so set out and maintain God's word, to the abolishment of all papistry, the confusion of all heresy, that thereby he, feared of his enemies, loved of all his subjects, may bring to his own glory immortal fame and memory, to this realm wealth, honour, and felicity, to true and unfeigned religion perpetual peace, concord, and unity.

But to return to shooting again, what Leo saith of shooting amongst the Romans; his words be so much for the praise of shooting, and the book also so rare to be gotten, that I learned the places by heart, which be

as I suppose, even thus. First, in his sixth book, as concerning what harness is best: "Let all the youth of Rome be compelled to use shooting, either more or less, and always to bear their bow and their quiver about with them, until they be eleven years old. For since shooting was neglected and decayed among the Romans, many a battle and field hath been lost." Again, in the eleventh book and fiftieth chapiter (I call that by books and chapiters, which the Greek book divideth by chapiters and paragraphs): "Let your soldiers have their weapons well appointed and trimmed; but, above all other things, regard most shooting; and therefore let men, when there is no war, use shooting at home. For the leaving off only of shooting, hath brought in ruin and decay the whole empire of Rome."

Afterward he commandeth again his capitain by these words: "Arm your host as I have appointed you, but specially with bow and arrows plenty. For shooting is a thing of much might and power in war, and chiefly against the Saracens and Turks, which people hath all their hope of victory in their bow and shafts." Besides all this, in another place, he writeth thus to his captain: "Artillery is easy to be prepared, and, in time of great need, a thing most profitable, therefore we straitly command you to make proclamation to all men under our dominion, which be either in war or peace, to all cities, boroughs, and towns, and finally, to all manner of men, that every sere person have bow and shafts of his own, and every house beside this to have a standing bearing bow, and forty shafts for all needs, and that they exercise themselves in holts, hills, and dales, plains and woods, for all manner of chances in war."

How much shooting was used among the old Romans, and what means noble captains and emperors made to have it increase amongst them, and what hurt came by

the decay of it, these words of Leo the Emperor, which, in a manner, I have rehearsed word for word, plainly doth declare.

And yet shooting, although they set never so much by it, was never so good then as it is now in England; which thing to be true is very probable, in that Leo doth say, "That he would have his soldiers take off their arrow heads, and one shoot at another, for their exercise;" which play if English archers used, I think they should find small play, and less pleasure in it at all.

The great upperhand maintained always in war by artillery, doth appear very plainly by this reason also, that when the Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Germans, Greeks, Macedonians, and Egyptians, each country using one singular weapon, for which they were greatly feared in war, as the Spaniard Lancea, the Frenchman Gesa, the German Framea, the Grecian Machera, the Macedonian Sarissa, yet could they not escape but be subjects to the empire of Rome; when the Parthians, having all their hope in artillery, gave no place to them, but overcame the Romans oftener than the Romans them, and kept battle with them many a hundred year, and slew the rich Crassus and his son, with many a stout Roman more, with their bows; they drave Marcus Antonius over the hills of Media in Armenia, to his great shame and reproach; they slew Julianus the apostate, and Antoninus Caracalla; they held in perpetual prison the most noble Emperor Valerian, in despite of all the Romans and many other princes which wrote for his deliverance, as Bel solis, called King of Kings, Valerius King of Cadusia, Arthabesdes King of Armenia, and many other princes more, whom the Parthians, by reason of their artillery, regarded never one whit; and thus with the Romans, I may conclude,

that the borders of their empire were not at the sun-rising and sun-setting, as Tully saith; but so far they went, as artillery would give them leave. For, I think, all the ground that they had, either northward, further than the borders of Scythia, or eastward, further than the borders of Parthia, a man might have bought with a small deal of money; of which thing surely shooting was the cause.

From the same country of Scythia, the Goths, Huns, and Vandalians came with the same weapons of artillery, as Paulus Diaconus doth say, and so bereft Rome of her empire by fire, spoil, and waste; so that in such a learned city was left scarce one man behind, that had learning or leisure to leave in writing to them which should come after, how so noble an empire, in so short a while, by a rabble of banished bondmen, without all order and policy, save only their natural and daily exercise in artillery, was brought to such thraldom and ruin.

After them the Turks, having another name, but yet the same people, born in Scythia, brought up only in artillery, by the same weapon have subdued and bereft from the Christian men all Asia and Africa (to speak upon) and the most noble countries of Europe, to the great diminishing of Christ his religion, to the great reproach of cowardice of all Christianity, a manifest token of God's high wrath and displeasure over the sin of the world, but specially amongst Christian men, which be on sleep, made drunk with the fruits of the flesh, as infidelity, disobedience to God's word, and heresy, grudge, ill-will, strife, open battle, and privy envy, covetousness, oppression, unmercifulness, with innumerable sorts of unspeakable daily bawdry; which things surely, if God hold not his holy hand over us, and pluck us from them, will bring us to a more Turkishness, and more beastly blind barbarousness, as

calling ill things good, and good things ill, contemning of knowledge and learning, setting at nought, and having for a fable, God and his high providence, will bring us, I say, to a more ungracious Turkishness, if more Turkishness can be than this, than if the Turks had sworn to bring all Turkey against us. For these fruits surely must needs spring of such seed, and such effect needs follow of such a cause, if reason, truth, and God be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no Turkish power can overthrow us, if Turkish life do not cast us down before. If God were with us, it booted not the Turk to be against us; but our unfaithful sinful living, which is the Turk's mother, and hath brought him up hitherto, must needs turn God from us, because sin and he hath no fellowship together. If we banished ill-living out of Christendom, I am sure the Turk should not only not overcome us, but scarce have an hole to run into in his own country.

But Christendom now, I may tell you, Philologe, is much like a man that hath an itch on him, and lieth drunk also in his bed, and though a thief come to the door, and heaveth at it, to come in and slay him, yet he lieth in his bed, having more pleasure to lie in a slumber and scratch himself where it itcheth, even to the hard bone, than he hath readiness to rise up lustily, and drive him away that would rob him and slay him. But, I trust, Christ will so lighten and lift up Christian men's eyes, that they shall not sleep to death, nor that the Turk, Christ's open enemy, shall ever boast that he hath quite overthrown us.

But, as I began to tell you, shooting is the chief thing wherewith God suffereth the Turk to punish our naughty living withal: the youth there is brought up in shooting, his privy guard for his own person is bowmen, the might of their shooting is well known of the

Spaniards, which at the town called Newcastle, in Illyrica, were quite slain up of the Turk's arrows, when the Spaniards had no use of their guns by reason of the rain. And now, last of all, the Emperor his Majesty himself, at the city of Argier in Afrike, had his host sore handled with the Turks' arrows, when his guns were quite dispatched, and stood him in no service because of the rain that fell; whereas, in such a chance of rain, if he had had bowmen, surely their shot might peradventure have been a little hindered, but quite dispatched and marred it could never have been. But, as for the Turks, I am weary to talk of them, partly because I hate them, and partly because I am now affectioned even as it were a man that had been long wandering in strange countries, and would fain be at home to see how well his own friends prosper and lead their life. And surely, methink, I am very merry at my heart to remember how I shall find at home in England, amongst Englishmen, partly by histories of them that have gone afore us, again by experience of them, which we know and live with us, as great noble feats of war done by artillery as ever was done at any time in any other commonwealth. And here I must needs remember a certain Frenchman, called Textor, that writeth a book which he nameth Officina, wherein he weaveth up many broken ended matters, and sets out much riffraff, pelfery, trumpery, baggage, and beggary ware, clamparde up of one that would seem to be fitter for a shop indeed than to write any book. And, amongst all other ill-packed up matters, he thrusts up in a heap together all the good shooters that ever hath been in the world, as he saith himself; and yet I trow, Philologe, that all the examples which I now, by chance, have rehearsed out of the best authors both in Greek and Latin, Textor

hath but two of them, which two surely, if they were to reckon again, I would not once name them, partly because they were naughty persons, and shooting so much the worse because they loved it, as Domitian and Commodus, the Emperors; partly because Textor hath them in his book, on whom I looked by chance in the book-binder's shop, thinking of no such matter. And one thing I will say to you, Philologus, that if I were disposed to do it, and you had leisure to hear it, I could soon do as Textor doth, and reckon up such a rabble of shooters, that be named here and there in poets, as would hold us talking whilst to-morrow; but my purpose was not to make mention of those which were feigned of poets for their pleasure, but of such as were proved in histories for a truth. But why I bring in Textor was this: At last, when he hath reckoned all shooters that he can, he saith thus, Petrus Crinitus writeth, that the Scots, which dwell beyond England, be very excellent shooters, and the best bowmen in war. This sentence, whether Crinitus wrote it more lewdly of ignorance, or Textor confirmeth it more peevishly of envy, may be called in question and doubt, but this surely do I know very well, that Textor hath both read in Gaguinus the French history, and also hath heard his father or grandfather talk (except perchance he was born and bred in a cloister) after that sort of the shooting of Englishmen, that Textor needed not to have gone so peevishly beyond England for shooting, but might very soon, even in the first town of Kent, have found such plenty of shooting, as is not in all the realm of Scotland again. The Scots surely be good men of war in their own feats as can be; but as for shooting, they neither can use it for any profit, nor yet will challenge it for any praise, although Master

Textor, of his gentleness, would give it them. Textor needed not to have filled up his book with such lies, if he had read the history of Scotland, which Johannes Major doth write; wherein he might have learned, that when James Stewart, first king of that name, at the parliament holden at Saint John's town, or Perthie, commanding under pain of a great forfeit, that every Scot should learn to shoot; yet neither the love of their country, the fear of their enemies, the avoiding of punishment, nor the receiving of any profit that might come by it, could make them to be good archers which be unapt and unfit thereunto by God's providence and nature.

Therefore the Scots themselves prove Textor a liar, both with authority and also daily experience, and by a certain proverb that they have amongst them in their communication, whereby they give the whole praise of shooting honestly to Englishmen, saying thus: that "every English archer beareth under his girdle twenty-four Scots."

But to let Textor and the Scots go, yet one thing would I wish for the Scots, and that is this; that seeing one God, one faith, one compass of the sea, one land and country, one tongue in speaking, one manner and trade in living, like courage and stomach in war, like quickness of wit to learning, hath made England and Scotland both one, they would suffer them no longer to be two; but clean give over the pope, which seeketh none other thing (as many a noble and wise Scottish man doth know) but to feed up dissension and parties betwixt them and us, procuring that thing to be two, which God, nature, and reason would have one.

How profitable such an atonement* were for Scotland, both Johannes Major and Hector Boetius, which wrote

* *Atonement* is *Union*, or the act *of setting at one.*

the Scots Chronicles, do tell, and also all the gentlemen of Scotland, with the poor commonalty, do well know; so that there is nothing that stoppeth this matter, save only a few freers [*friars*] and such like, which, with the dregs of our English Papistry lurking amongst them, study nothing else but to brew battle and strife betwixt both the people; whereby only they hope to maintain their papistical kingdom, to the destruction of the noble blood of Scotland, that then they may with authority do that, which neither noble man nor poor man in Scotland yet doth know. And as [for]* Scottish men and English men be not enemies by nature, but by custom; not by our good will, but by their own folly; which should take more honour in being coupled to England, than we should take profit in being joined to Scotland.

Wales being heady, and rebelling many years against us, lay wild, untilled, uninhabited, without law, justice, civility, and order; and then was amongst them more stealing than true dealing, more surety for them than studied to be naught, than quietness for them that laboured to be good; when now, thanked be God and noble England, there is no country better inhabited, more civil, more diligent in honest crafts, to get both true and plentiful living withal. And this felicity (my mind giveth me) shall chance also to Scotland, by the godly wisdom of our most noble prince King Henry VIII, by whom God hath wrought more wonderful things than ever by any prince before; as banishing the bishop of Rome and heresy, bringing to light God's word and verity, establishing such justice and equity through every part of this his realm, as never was seen afore.

To such a prince of such a wisdom, God hath reserved this most noble atonement; whereby neither we shall

* First edition has *for*.

be any more troubled, nor the Scots with their best countries any more destroyed, nor the sea, which God ordained profitable for both, shall from either be any more stopped; to the great quietness, wealth, and felicity of all the people dwelling in this isle, to the high renown and praise of our most noble king, to the fear of all manner of nations that owe ill will to either country, to the high pleasure of God, which as he is one, and hateth all divisions, so is he best of all pleased to see things which be wide and amiss, brought to peace and atonement.*

But Textor (I beshrew him) hath almost brought us from our communication of shooting. Now, sir, by my judgment, the artillery of England far exceedeth all other realms: but yet one thing I doubt, and long have surely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, shooting was first brought into England; and, for the same purpose, as I was once in company with Sir Thomas Eliot, knight, (which surely for his learning in all kind of knowledge, brought much worship to all the nobility of England,) I was so bold to ask him, if he at any time had marked any thing, as concerning the bringing in of shooting into England: he answered me gently again, he had a work in hand, which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Angliæ*, which I trust we shall see in print shortly, and, for the accomplishment of that book, he had read and perused over many old Monuments of England; and, in seeking for that purpose, he marked this of shooting in an exceeding old chronicle, the which had no name, that what time as the Saxons came first into this realm, in King Vortiger's days, when they had been here a while, and at last began to fall out with the Britons, they troubled and subdued

* This paragraph is left out in the modern editions of the Toxophilus.

the Britons with nothing so much as with their bow and shafts, which weapon being strange and not seen here before, was wonderful terrible unto them; and this beginning I can think very well to be true. But now as concerning many examples for the praise of English archers in war, surely I will not be long in a matter that no man doubteth in; and those few that I will name, shall either be proved by the history of our enemies, or else done by men that now live.

King Edward III, at the battle of Cressy, against Philip the French King, as Gaguinus the French historiographer, plainly doth tell, slew that day all the nobility of France only with his archers.

Such like battle also fought the noble Black Prince Edward, beside Poictiers, where John the French King, with his son, and in a manner all the peers of France were taken, beside 30,000 which that day were slain, and very few English men, by reason of their bows.

King Henry V, a prince peerless, and most victorious conqueror of all that ever died yet in this part of the world, at the battle of Dagincourt, with seven thousand fighting men, and yet many of them sick, being such archers, as the chronicle saith, that most part of them drew a yard, slew all the chivalry of France, to the number of forty thousand and moo, and lost not past twenty-six Englishmen.

The bloody civil war of England betwixt the house of York and Lancaster, where shafts flew of both sides to the destruction of many a yeoman of England, whom foreign battle could never have subdued, both I will pass over for the pitifulness of it, and yet may we highly praise God in the remembrance of it, seeing he, of his providence, hath so knit together those two noble houses, with so noble and pleasant a flower.

The excellent prince Thomas Howard duke of Northfolk (for whose good prosperity with all his noble family all English hearts daily doth pray),* with bow men of England, slew King Jamie with many a noble Scot, even brant against Flodden Hill; in which battle the stout archers of Cheshire and Lancashire, for one day bestowed to the death for their prince and country sake, hath gotten immortal name and praise for ever.

The fear only of English archers hath done more wonderful things than ever I read in any history, Greek or Latin, and most wonderful of all now of late, beside Carlisle, betwixt Esk and Leven, at Sandysikes, where the whole nobility of Scotland, for fear of the archers of England, (next the stroke of God,) as both English and Scottish men that were present that told me, were drowned and taken prisoners.

Nor that noble act also, which although it be almost lost by time, cometh not behind in worthiness, which my singular good friend and master Sir William Walgrave, and Sir George Somerset did, with a few archers, to the number, as it is said, of sixteen, at the turnpike beside Hammes, where they turned with so few archers so many Frenchmen to flight, and turned so many out of their jacks;† which turn turned all France to shame and reproach, and those two noble knights to perpetual praise and fame.

And thus you see, Philologe, in all countries, Asia, Afrike, and Europe, in Inde, Ethiop, Egypt, and Jewry, Parthia, Persia, Greece and Italy, Scythia, Turkey, and England, from the beginning of the world even to this day, that shooting hath had the chief stroke in war.

Phi. These examples surely, apt for the praise of shooting, not feigned by poets, but proved by true

* This parenthesis is omitted in the modern editions.

† A *jack* is a coat of mail.

histories, distinct by time and order, hath delighted me exceeding much; but yet methink that all this praise belongeth to strong shooting and drawing of mighty bows, not to pricking and near shooting, for which cause you and many other both love and use shooting.

Tox. Evermore, Philologe, you will have some overthwart reason to draw forth more communication withal; but, nevertheless, you shall perceive if you will, that use of pricking, and desire of near shooting at home, are the only causes of strong shooting in war, and why? For you see that the strongest men do not draw always the strongest shot, which thing proveth that drawing strong lieth not so much in the strength of man, as in the use of shooting. And experience teacheth the same in other things, for you shall see a weak smith, which will, with a lipe* and turning of his arm take up a bar of iron, that another man, thrice as strong, cannot stir. And a strong man, not used to shoot, hath his arms, breast, and shoulders, and other parts wherewith he should draw strongly, one hindering and stopping another, even as a dozen strong horses not used to the cart, lets and troubles one another. And so the more strong man, not used to shoot, shoots most unhandsomely; but yet if a strong man with use of shooting could apply all the parts of his body together, to their most strength, then should he both draw stronger than other, and also shoot better than other. But now a strong man, not used to shoot, at a gird can heave up and pluck in sunder many a good bow, as wild horses at a brunt doth race and pluck in pieces many a strong cart. And thus strong men, without use, can do nothing in shooting to any purpose, neither

* The word *lipe* I never saw, and know not whether I understand it: if it be the same as *leap*, it may mean a jerk or sudden motion.

in war nor peace ; but if they happen to shoot, yet they have done within a shot or two, when a weak man that is used to shoot, shall serve for all times and purposes, and shall shoot ten shafts against the other's four, and draw them up to the point every time, and shoot them to the most advantage, drawing and withdrawing his shaft when he list, marking at one man, yet let driving at another man ; which things, in a set battle, although a man shall not always use, yet in bickerings, and at overthwart meetings, when few archers be together, they do most good of all.

Again, he that is not used to shoot, shall evermore with untowardness of holding his bow, and knocking his shaft, not looking to his string betime, put his bow always in jeopardy of breaking, and then he were better to be at home : moreover he shall shoot very few shafts, and those full unhandsomely, some not half drawn, some too high, and some too low ; nor he cannot drive a shot at a time, nor stop a shot at a need, but out must it, and very oft to evil proof.

Phi. And that is best, I trow, in war, to let it go, and not to stop it.

Tox. No, not so, but some time to hold a shaft at the head ; which, if they be but few archers, doth more good with the fear of it, than it should do if it were shot with the stroke of it.

Phi. That is a wonder to me, that the fear of a displeasure should do more harm than the displeasure itself.

Tox. Yes, ye know that a man which feareth to be banished out of his country, can neither be merry, eat, drink, nor sleep for fear ; yet when he is banished indeed, he sleepeth and eateth as well as any other. And many men, doubting and fearing whether they should die or no, even for very fear of death, preventeth

themselves with a more bitter death than the other death should have been indeed. And thus fear is ever worse than the thing feared, as is prettily proved by the communication of Cyrus and Tigranes, the King's son of Armenie, in Xenophon.

Phi. I grant, Toxophile, that use of shooting maketh a man draw strong, to shoot at most advantage, to keep his gear, which is no small thing in war; but yet methink that the customable shooting at home, specially at butts and pricks, make nothing at all for strong shooting, which doth most good in war. Therefore, I suppose, if men should use to go into the fields, and learn to shoot mighty strong shots, and never care for any mark at all, they should do much better.

Tox. The truth is, that fashion much used would do much good, but this is to be feared, lest that way could not provoke men to use much shooting, because there should be little pleasure in it. And that in shooting is best, that provoketh a man to use shooting most; for much use maketh men shoot both strong and well, which two things in shooting every man doth desire. And the chief maintainer of use in any thing is comparison and honest contention. For when a man striveth to be better than another, he will gladly use that thing, though it be never so painful, wherein he would excel; which thing Aristotle very prettily doth note, saying, "Where is comparison, there is victory; where is victory, there is pleasure; and where is pleasure, no man careth what labour or pain he taketh, because of the praise and pleasure that he shall have in doing better than other men."

Again, you know, Hesiodus writeth to his brother Perses, "that all craftsmen, by contending one honestly with another, do increase their cunning with their

substance." And therefore in London, and other great cities, men of one craft, most commonly, dwell together, because in honest striving together who shall do best, every one may wax both cunninger and richer. So likewise in shooting, to make matches, to assemble archers together, to contend who shall shoot best, and win the game, increaseth the use of shooting wonderfully amongst men.

Phi. Of use you speak very much, Toxophile; but I am sure in all other matters use can do nothing without two other things be joined with it; one is a natural aptness to a thing, the other is a true way or knowledge how to do the thing; to which two if use be joined as third fellow of them three, proceedeth perfectness and excellency: if a man lack the first two, aptness and cunning, use can do little good at all.

For he that would be an orator, and is nothing naturally fit for it, that is to say, lacketh a good wit and memory, lacketh a good voice, countenance, and body, and other such like; yea, if he had all these things, and knew not what, how, where, when, nor to whom he should speak; surely the use of speaking would bring out none other fruit but plain folly and babbling; so that use is the last and the least necessary of all three, yet nothing can be done excellently without them all three; and therefore, Toxophile, I myself, because I never knew whether I was apt for shooting or no, nor never knew way how I should learn to shoot, I have not used to shoot; and so, I think, five hundred more in England do beside me. And surely, if I knew that I were apt, and that you would teach me how to shoot, I would become an archer; and the rather because of the good communication, the which I have had with you this day of shooting.

Tox. Aptness, knowledge, and use, even as you say, make all things perfect. Aptness is the first and chiefest thing, without which the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doth increase all manner of aptness both less and more. "Use," saith Cicero, "is far above all teaching." And thus they all three must be had, to do any thing very well; and if any one be away, whatsoever is done, is done very meanly. Aptness is the gift of nature, knowledge is gotten by the help of other; use lieth in our own diligence and labour; so that aptness and use be ours and within us, through nature and labour; knowledge not ours, but coming by other; and therefore most diligently of all men to be sought for. How these three things stand with the artillery of England, a word or two I will say.

All Englishmen, generally, be apt for shooting; and how? Like as that ground is plentiful and fruitful, which, without any tilling, bringeth out corn: as, for example, if a man should go to the mill or market with corn, and happen to spill some in the way, yet it would take root and grow, because the soil is so good; so England may be thought very fruitful, and apt to bring out shooters, where children, even from the cradle, love it, and young men, without any teaching, so diligently use it. Again, likewise as a good ground, well tilled and well husbanded, bringeth out great plenty of big-eared corn, and good to the fall: so if the youth of England, being apt of itself to shoot, were taught and learned how to shoot, the archers of England should not be only a great deal ranker, and mo than they be; but also a good deal bigger and stronger archers than they be. This commodity should follow also, if the youth of England were taught to shoot, that even as ploughing of a good ground for wheat, doth not only make it meet

for the seed, but also riveth and plucketh up by the roots all thistles, brambles, and weeds, which grow of their own accord, to the destruction of both corn and ground: even so should the teaching of youth to shoot, not only make them shoot well, but also pluck away by the roots all other desire to naughty pastimes, as dicing, carding, and bowling, which, without any teaching, are used every where, to the great harm of all youth of this realm. And likewise as burning of thistles, and diligent weeding them out of the corn, doth not half so much rid them, as when the ground is fallowed and tilled for good grain, as I have heard many a good husbandman say: even so, neither hot punishment, nor yet diligent searching out of such unthriftiness by the officers, shall so thoroughly weed these ungracious games out of the realm, as occupying and bringing up youth in shooting, and other honest pastime. Thirdly, as a ground which is apt for corn, and also well tilled for corn; yet if a man let it lie still, and do not occupy it three or four year; but then will sow it, if it be wheat, saith Columella, it will turn into rye: so if a man be never so apt to shoot, nor never so well taught in his youth to shoot, yet if he give it over, and not use to shoot, truly when he shall be either compelled in war time for his country sake, or else provoked at home for his pleasure sake, to fall to his bow, he shall become, of a fair archer, a stark squirter and dribber. Therefore, in shooting, as in all other things, there can neither be many in number, nor excellent in deed, except these three things, aptness, knowledge, and use, go together.

Phi. Very well said, Toxophile; and I promise you, I agree to this judgment of yours together; and therefore I cannot a little marvel, why Englishmen bring no

more help to shooting than nature itself giveth them. For you see that even children be put to their own shifts in shooting, having nothing taught them; but that they may choose, and chance to shoot ill rather than well, unaptly sooner than fitly, untowardly more easily than well-favouredly; which thing causeth many never to begin to shoot, and moo to leave it off when they have begun; and most of all to shoot both worse and weaker than they might shoot, if they were taught.

But peradventure some men will say, that with use of shooting a man shall learn to shoot: true it is, he shall learn, but what shall he learn? Marry to shoot naughtily. For all use, in all things, if it be not stayed by cunning, will very easily bring a man to do the thing, whatsoever he goeth about, with much ill-favouredness and deformity. Which thing how much harm it doth in learning, both Crassus excellently doth prove in Tully, and I myself have experience in my little shooting. And therefore, Toxophile, you must needs grant me, that either Englishmen do ill in not joining knowledge of shooting to use, or else there is no knowledge or cunning which can be gathered of shooting.

Tox. Learning to shoot is little regarded in England, for this consideration, because men be so apt by nature, they have a great ready forwardness and will to use it, although no man teach them, although no man bid them; and so of their own courage they run headlong on it, and shoot they ill, shoot they well, great heed they take not. And, in very deed, aptness with use may do somewhat without knowledge, but not the tenth part, if so be they were joined with knowledge. Which three things be separate as you see, not of their own kind, but through the negligence of men which coupled them not together. And where ye doubt, whether

there can be gathered any knowledge or art in shooting or no, surely I think that a man, being well exercised in it, and somewhat honestly learned withal, might soon, with diligent observing and marking the whole nature of shooting, find out, as it were, an art of it, as arts in other matters have been found out afore; seeing that shooting standeth by those things, which may both be thoroughly perceived, and perfectly known, and such that never fails, but be ever certain, belonging to one most perfect end; as shooting straight and keeping of a length bring a man to hit the mark, the chief end in shooting, which two things a man may attain unto, by diligent using and well-handling those instruments which belong unto them. Therefore I cannot see, but there lieth hid in the nature of shooting an art, which by noting and observing of him that is exercised in it, if he be any thing learned at all, may be taught, to the great furtherance of artillery throughout all this realm; and truly I marvel greatly, that Englishmen would never yet seek for the art of shooting, seeing they be so apt unto it, so praised of their friends, so feared of their enemies for it. Vegetius would have masters appointed, which should teach youth to shoot fair. Leo the Emperor of Rome showeth the same custom to have been always amongst the old Romans: which custom of teaching youth to shoot (saith he) after it was omitted and little heed taken of, brought the whole empire of Rome to great ruin. *Schola Persica*, that is, the school of the Persians, appointed to bring up youth, whilst they were twenty year old, in shooting, is as notably known in histories as the empire of the Persians; which school, as doth appear in Cornelius Tacitus, as soon as they gave over and fell to other idle pastimes, brought both them and the Parthians under

the subjection of the Romans. Plato would have common masters and stipends, for to teach youth to shoot; and, for the same purpose, he would have a broad field near every city, made common for men to use shooting in. Which saying, the more reasonably it is spoken of Plato, the more unreasonable is their deed, which would ditch up those fields privately for their own profit, which lieth open generally for the common use: men by such goods be made richer, not honester, saith Tully. If men can be persuaded to have shooting taught, this authority which followeth will persuade them, or else none, and that is, as I have once said before, of King David, whose first act and ordinance was, after he was King, that all Judea should learn to shoot. If shooting could speak, she would accuse England of unkindness and slothfulness; of unkindness toward her, because she being left to a little blind use, lacks her best maintainer, which is cunning: of slothfulness towards their own self, because they are content with that which aptness and use doth grant them in shooting, and will seek for no knowledge, as other noble commonwealths have done: and the justlier shooting might make this complaint, seeing that of fence and weapons there is made an art, a thing in no wise to be compared to shooting. For of fence, almost in every town, there is not only masters to teach it, with his provosts, ushers, scholars, and other names of art and school; but there hath not failed also, which hath diligently and favouredly * written it, and is set out in print, that every man may read it.

What discommodity doth come by the lack of knowledge, in shooting, it were over-long to rehearse. For many that have been apt, and loved shooting, because

* *Favouredly* is, I suppose, *plausibly*.

they knew not which way to hold to come to shooting, have clean turned themselves from shooting. And I may tell you, Philologe, the lack of teaching to shoot in England causeth very many men to play with the King's acts; as a man did once, either with the Mayor of London or York, I cannot tell whether, which did command by proclamation, every man in the city to hang a lantern, with a candle, afore his door; which thing the man did, but he did not light it: and so many buy bows, because of the act,* but yet they shoot not; not of evil will, but because they know not how to shoot. But, to conclude of this matter, in shooting, as in all other things, aptness is the first and chief thing; which if it be away, neither cunning nor use doth any good at all; as the Scots and Francemen, with knowledge and use of shooting, shall become good archers, when a cunning shipwright shall make a strong ship of a sallow tree; or when a husbandman shall become rich, with sowing wheat on Newmarket heath. Cunning must be had, both to set out and amend nature, and also to oversee and correct use; which use, if it be not led and governed with cunning, shall sooner go amis than straight. Use maketh perfectness in doing that thing, whereunto nature maketh a man apt, and knowledge maketh a man cunning before. So that it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath most stroke in shooting, as it is plain and evident, that all three must be had in excellent shooting.

Phi. For this communication, Toxophile, I am very glad, and that for mine own sake, because I trust now to become a shooter. And indeed I thought afore, Englishmen most apt for shooting, and I saw them

* The statute.

daily use shooting; but yet I never found none, that would talk of any knowledge whereby a man might come to shooting. Therefore I trust that you, by the use you have had in shooting, have so thoroughly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teach me, as it were by a trade or way, how to come to it.

Tox. I grant I have used shooting meetly well; that I might have marked it well enough, if I had been diligent. But my much shooting hath caused me study little, so that thereby I lack learning, which should set out the art or way in any thing. And you know that I was never so well seen in the *posteriorums* of Aristotle as to invent and search out general demonstrations, for the setting forth of any new science, Yet, by my troth, if you will, I will go with you into the fields at any time, and tell you as much as I can; or else you may stand some time at the pricks, and look on them which shoot best, and so learn.

Phi. How little you have looked of Aristotle, and how much learning you have lost by shooting, I cannot tell; but this I would say, and if I loved you never so ill, that you have been occupied in somewhat else beside shooting. But, to our purpose; as I will not require a trade in shooting to be taught me after the subtilty of Aristotle, even so do I not agree with you in this point, that you would have me learn to shoot with looking on them which shoot best, for so I know, I should never come to shoot meanly; for in shooting, as in all other things which be gotten by teaching, there must be showed a way, and a path, which shall lead a man to the best and chiefest point which is in shooting; which you do mark yourself well enough, and uttered it also in your communication, when you said there lay hid in the nature of shooting a certain

way which, well perceived and thoroughly known, would bring a man, without any wandering, to the best end in shooting, which you called hitting of the prick. Therefore I would refer all my shooting to that end which is best, and so should I come the sooner to some mean. That which is best hath no fault, nor cannot be amended. So show me best shooting, not the best shooter; which, if he be never so good, yet hath he many a fault, easily of any man to be espied. And therefore marvel not if I require to follow that example which is without fault, rather than that which hath so many faults. And this way every wise man doth follow in teaching any manner of thing. As Aristotle, when he teacheth a man to be good, he sets not before him Socrates life, which was the best man, but chief goodness itself; according to which he would have a man direct his life.

Tox. This way which you require of me, Philologe, is too hard for me, and too high for a shooter to talk on; and taken, as I suppose, out of the midst of philosophy, to search out the perfect end of any thing; the which perfect end to find out, saith Tully, is the hardest thing in the world; the only occasion and cause why so many sects of philosophers hath been always in learning. And although, as Cicero saith, a man may imagine and dream in his mind of a perfect end in anything, yet there is no experience nor use of it, nor was never seen yet amongst men; as always to heal the sick, evermore to lead a ship without danger, at all times to hit the prick,* shall no physician, no ship-masters, no shooter ever do; and Aristotle saith that in all deeds there are two points to be marked,

* The *prick*, at other times called the *white*, is the white spot or *point* in the midst of the mark.

possibility and excellency, but chiefly a wise man must follow and lay hand on possibility, for fear he lose both. Therefore, seeing that which is most perfect and best in shooting, as always to hit the prick, was never seen nor heard tell on yet amongst men, but only imagined and thought upon in a man his mind, methink, this is the wisest counsel, and best for us to follow, rather that which a man may come to, than that which is unpossible to be attained to, lest justly that saying of the wise maid Ismene in Sophocles may be verified on us:

A fool is he that takes in hand he cannot end.

Phi. Well, if the perfect end of other matters had been as perfectly known as the perfect end of shooting is, there had never been so many sects of philosophers as there be; for in shooting both man and boy is of one opinion, that always to hit the prick is the most perfect end that can be imagined, so that we shall not need greatly contend in this matter. But now, Sir, whereas you think that a man, in learning to shoot, or any thing else, should rather wisely follow possibility, than vainly seek for perfect excellency; surely I will prove that every wise man, that wisely would learn any thing, shall chiefly go about that whereunto he knoweth well he shall never come. And you yourself, I suppose, shall confess the same to be the best way inteaching, if you will answer me to those things which I will ask of you.

Tox. And that I will gladly; both because I think it is unpossible for you to prove it, and also because I desire to hear what you can say in it.

Phi. The study of a good physician, Toxophile, I trow be to know all diseases and all medicines fit for them.

Tox. It is so indeed.*

* Here is an example of the *Socratic* method of disputation,

Phi. Because, I suppose, he would gladly, at all time, heal all diseases of all men.

Tox. Yea, truly.

Phi. A good purpose surely; but was there ever physician yet among so many which hath laboured in this study, that at all times could heal all diseases?

Tox. No, truly; nor, I think, never shall be.

Phi. Then physicians, belike, study for that which none of them cometh unto. But in learning of fence, I pray you what is that which men most labour for?

Tox. That they may hit another, I trow, and never take blow their self.

Phi. You say truth, and I am sure every one of them would fain do so whensoever he playeth. But was there ever any of them so cunning yet, which, at one time or other, hath not been touched.

Tox. The best of them all is glad sometime to escape with a blow.

Phi. Then in fence also, men are taught to go about that thing, which the best of them all knoweth he shall never attain unto. Moreover you that be shooters, I pray you, what mean you, when ye take so great heed to keep your standing, to shoot compass, to look on your mark so diligently, to cast up grass divers times, and other things more you know better than I. What would you do then, I pray you?

Tox. Hit the mark if we could.

Phi. And doth every man go about to hit the mark at every shot?

Tox. By my troth I trow so; and, as for myself, I am sure I do.

Phi. But all men do not hit it at all times.

which, by repeated interrogations, confutes the opponent out of his own answers.

Tox. No, truly, for that were a wonder.

Phi. Can any man hit it at all times?

Tox. No man, verily.

Phi. Then belikely, to hit the prick always is unpossible. For that is called unpossible which is in no man his power to do.

Tox. Unpossible indeed.

Phi. But to shoot wide and far of the mark is a thing possible.

Tox. No man will deny that.

Phi. But yet to hit the mark always were an excellent thing.

Tox. Excellent, surely.

Phi. Then I am sure those be wiser men which covet to shoot wide, than those which covet to hit the prick.

Tox. Why so, I pray you?

Phi. Because to shoot wide is a thing possible, and therefore, as you say yourself, of every wise man to be followed. And as for hitting the prick, because it is unpossible, it were a vain thing to go about it in good sadness,* Toxophile; thus you see that a man might go through all crafts and sciences, and prove that any man in his science coveteth that which he shall never get.

Tox. By my troth (as you say) I cannot deny but they do so; but why and wherefore they should do so, I cannot learn.

Phi. I will tell you. Every craft and science standeth in two things: in knowing of his craft, and working of his craft; for perfect knowledge bringeth a man to perfect working: this know painters, carvers, tailors, shoemakers, and all other craftsmen, to be true.

* *Sadness* is *seriousness*, or *earnest*. First edition has "go about it: but in good sadness."

Now, in every craft there is a perfect excellency, which may be better known in a man's mind, than followed in a man's deed. This perfectness, because it is generally laid as a broad wide example afore all men, no one particular man is able to compass it; and, as it is general to all men, so it is perpetual for all time, which proveth it a thing for man unpossible; although not for the capacity of our thinking, which is heavenly, yet, surely for the ability of our working, which is worldly. God giveth not full perfectness to one man (saith Tully) lest if one man had all in any one science, there should be nothing left for another. Yet God suffereth us to have the perfect knowledge of it, that such a knowledge, diligently followed, might bring forth, according as a man doth labour, perfect working. And who is he, that, in learning to write, would forsake an excellent example, and follow a worse? Therefore, seeing perfectness itself is an example for us, let every man study how he may come nigh it, which is a point of wisdom, not reason with God why he may not attain unto it, which is vain curiosity.

Tox. Surely this is gaily said, Philologe: but yet this one thing I am afraid of, lest this perfectness which you speak on will discourage men to take anything in hand, because, afore they begin, they know they shall never come to an end. And thus despair shall dispatch, even at the first entering it, many a good man his purpose and intent. And I think both you yourself, and all other men too, would count it mere folly for a man to tell him whom he teacheth, that he shall never obtain that which he would fainest learn. And therefore this same high and perfect way of teaching let us leave it to higher matters, and, as for shooting, it shall be content with a meaner way well enough.

Phi. Whereas you say that this high perfectness will discourage men, because they know they shall never attain unto it, I am sure, clean contrary, there is nothing in the world shall encourage men more than it. And why? For where a man seeth, that though another man be never so excellent, yet it is possible for himself to be better, what pain or labour will that man refuse to take? If the game be once won, no man will set forth his foot to run. And thus perfectness being so high a thing that men may look at it, not come to it, and being so plentiful and indifferent to every body, that the plentifulness of it may provoke all men to labour, because it hath enough for all men, the indifferency of it shall encourage every one to take more pain than his fellow, because every man is rewarded according to his nigh coming; and yet, which is most marvel of all, the more men take of it, the more they leave behind for other, as Socrates did in wisdom, and Cicero in eloquence, whereby other hath not lacked, but hath fared a great deal the better. And thus perfectness itself, because it is never obtained, even therefore only doth it cause so many men to be well seen and perfect in many matters as they be. But whereas you think that it were fondness to teach a man to shoot, in looking at the most perfectness in it, but rather would have a man go some other way to work; I trust no wise man will discommend that way, except he think himself wiser than Tully, which doth plainly say, that, if he teached any manner of craft, as he did rhetoric, he would labour to bring a man to the knowledge of the most perfectness of it, which knowledge should evermore lead and guide a man to do that thing well which he went about. Which way, in all manner of learning to be best, Plato doth also declare in

Euthydemus, of whom Tully learned it, as he did many other things mo. And thus you see, Toxophile, by what reasons, and by whose authority I do require of you this way in teaching me to shoot; which way, I pray you, without any more delay, show me as far forth as you have noted and marked.

Tox. You call me to a thing, Philologe, which I am loth to do, and yet, if I do it not, being but a small matter as you think, you will lack friendship in me; if I take it in hand, and not bring it to pass as you would have it, you might think great want of wisdom in me.

But I advise you, seeing ye will needs have it so, the blame shall be yours, as well as mine: yours for putting upon me so instantly *; mine for receiving so fondly a greater burthen than I am able to bear. Therefore I, more willing to fulfil your mind than hoping to accomplish that which you look for, shall speak of it, not as a master of shooting, but as one not altogether ignorant in shooting. And one thing I am glad of, the sun drawing down so fast into the west shall compel me to draw apace to the end of our matter, so that his darkness shall something cloak mine ignorance.

And because you know the ordering of a matter better than I, ask me generally of it, and I shall particularly answer to it.

Phi. Very gladly, Toxophile: for so by order those things which I would know, you shall tell the better; and those things which you shall tell, I shall remember the better.

* So importunately.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK OF THE SCHOOL OF SHOOTING.

TOXOPHILUS.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE SCHOOL OF SHOOTING.

PHILOLOGUS. TOXOPHILUS.

Phi. WHAT is the chief point in shooting, that every man laboureth to come to?

Tox. To hit the mark.

Phi. How many things are required to make a man evermore hit the mark?

Tox. Two.

Phi. Which two?

Tox. Shooting straight, and keeping of a length.

Phi. How should a man shoot straight, and how should a man keep a length?

Tox. In knowing and having things belonging to shooting; and when they be known and had, in well handling of them; whereof some belong to shooting straight, some to keeping of a length, some commonly to them both, as shall be told severally of them in place convenient.

Phi. Things belonging to shooting, which be they?

Tox. All things be outward *; and some be instruments for every sere archer to bring with him, proper for his own use: other things be general to every man, as the place and time serveth.

Phi. Which be instruments?

* The instruments of shooting are *external.*

Tox. Bracer, shooting glove, string, bow, and shaft.

Phi. Which be general to all men?

Tox. The weather and the mark; yet the mark is ever under the rule of the weather.

Phi. Wherein standeth well handling of things?

Tox. Altogether within a man himself: some handling is proper to instruments, some to the weather, some to the mark, some is within a man himself.

Phi. What handling is proper to the instruments?

Tox. Standing, knocking, drawing, holding, loosing, whereby cometh fair shooting, which neither belong to wind nor weather, nor yet to the mark; for in a rain and at no mark, a man may shoot a fair shoot.

Phi. Well said: what handling belongeth to the weather?

Tox. Knowing of his wind, with him, against him, side wind, full side wind, side wind quarter with him, side wind quarter against him, and so forth.

Phi. Well then, go to; what handling belongeth to the mark?

Tox. To mark his standing, to shoot compass, to draw evermore like, to loose evermore like, to consider the nature of the prick, in hills and dales, in straight plains and winding places, and also to espy his mark.

Phi. Very well done. And what is only within a man himself?

Tox. Good heed-giving, and avoiding all affections: which things oftentimes do mar and make all. And these things spoken of me generally and briefly, if they be well known, had, and handled, shall bring a man to such shooting, as few or none ever yet came unto; but surely if he miss in any one of them, he can never hit the mark; and in the more he doth miss, the farther he shooteth from his mark. But, as in all other

matters, the first step or stair to be good, is to know a man's fault, and then to amend it; and he that will not know his fault, shall never amend it.

Phi. You speak now, Toxophile, even as I would have you to speak; but let us return again unto our matter, and those things which you have packed up in so short a room, we will loose them forth, and take every piece, as it were, in our hand, and look more narrowly upon it.

Tox. I am content; but we will rid them as fast as we can, because the sun goeth so fast down, and yet somewhat must needs be said of every one of them.

Phi. Well said; and I trow we began with those things which be instruments, whereof the first, as I suppose, was the bracer.

Tox. Little is to be said of the bracer. A bracer * serveth for two causes, one to save his arm from the stripe of the string, and his doublet from wearing; and the other is, that the string gliding sharply and quickly off the bracer, may make the sharper shot. For if the string should light upon the bare sleeve, the strength of the shoot should stop and die there. But it is best, by my judgement, to give the bow so much bent, that the string need never touch a man's arm, and so should a man need no bracer, as I know many good archers which occupy none. In a bracer a man must take heed of three things; that it have no nails in it, that it have no buckles, that it be fast on with laces without agglets. For the nails will sheer in sunder a man's string before he be ware, and so put his bow in jeopardy: buckles

* Those who write of things well-known, seldom extend their care to time in which they may be known less. This account of the *bracer* is somewhat obscure. It seems to have been a kind of close sleeve laced upon the left arm.

and agglets at unwares shall raze his bow, a thing both evil for the sight, and perilous for fretting. And thus a bracer is only had for this purpose, that the string may have ready passage.

Phi. In my bracer I am cunning enough; but what say you of the shooting glove?

Tox. A shooting glove is chiefly for to save a man's fingers from hurting, that he may be able to bear the sharp string to the uttermost of his strength. And when a man shooteth, the might of his shoot lieth on the foremost finger, and on the ringman; for the middle finger which is the longest, like a lubber, starteth back, and beareth no weight of the string in a manner at all; therefore the two other fingers must have thicker leather, and that must have thickest of all whereon a man looseth most, and for sure loosing, the foremost finger is most apt, because it holdeth best; and for that purpose, nature hath, as a man would say, yoked it with the thumb. Leather, if it be next a man's skin, will sweat, wax hard, and chafe; therefore scarlet, for the softness of it and thickness withal, is good to sew within a man's glove. If that will not serve, but yet your finger hurteth, you must take a searing cloth, made of fine virgin wax and deers' suet, and put next your finger, and so on with your glove. If yet you feel your finger pinched, leave shooting, both because then you shall shoot naught; and again by little and little, hurting your finger, ye shall make it long and long too or you shoot again. A new glove plucks many shoots, because the string goeth not freely off; and therefore the fingers must be cut short and trimmed with some ointment, that the string may glide well away. Some with holding in the nock of their shaft too hard, rub the skin off their fingers. For this there be two remedies,

one to have a goose quill splitted and sewed against the nocking, betwixt the lining and the leather, which shall help the shoot much too; the other way is to have some roll of leather sewed betwixt his fingers, at the setting on of the fingers, which shall keep his fingers so in sunder that they shall not hold the nock so fast as they did. The shooting glove hath a purse, which shall serve to put fine linen cloth and wax in, two necessary things for a shooter. Some men use gloves or other such like thing on their bow-hand for chafing, because they hold so hard. But that cometh commonly when a bow is not round, but somewhat square; fine wax shall do very well in such a case to lay where a man holdeth his bow; and thus much as concerning your glove.

And these things, although they be trifles, yet because you be but a young shooter, I would not leave them out.

Phi. And so you shall do me most pleasure. The string I trow be the next.

Tox. The next indeed; a thing, though it be little, yet not a little to be regarded. But herein you must be content to put your trust in honest stringers. And surely stringers ought more diligently to be looked upon by the officers, than either bowyer or fletcher, because they may deceive a simple man the more easilier. An ill string breaketh many a good bow, nor no other thing half so many. In war, if a string break, the man is lost, and is no man, for his weapon is gone; and although he have two strings put on at once, yet he shall have small leisure and less room to bend his bow; therefore God send us good stringers both for war and peace. Now what a string ought to be made on, whether of good hemp, as they do now-a-days, or of flax, or of silk,

I leave that to the judgement of stringers, of whom we must buy them. Eustathius, upon this verse of Homer,

Twang quoth the bow, and twang quoth the string, out quickly the shaft flew,*

doth tell, that in old time, they made their bow-strings of bullocks' thermes,† which they twined together as they do ropes; and therefore they made a great twang. Bow-strings also hath been made of the hair of an horse tail, called, for the matter of them, Hippias, as doth appear in many good authors of the Greek tongue. Great strings and little strings be for divers purposes: the great string is more surer for the bow, more stable to prick withall, but slower for the cast. The little string is clean contrary, not so sure, therefore to be taken heed of, lest with long tarrying on it break your bow, more fit to shoot far, than apt to prick near; therefore, when you know the nature of both big and little, you must fit your bow according to the occasion of your shooting. In stringing of your bow (though this place belong rather to the handling than to the thing itself, yet because the thing, and the handling of the thing, be so joined together, I must need sometimes couple the one with the other) you must mark the fit length of your bow. For, if the string be too short, the bending will give, and at the last slip, and so put the bow in jeopardy. If it be long, the bending must needs be in the small of the string, which being

* The note which contains the former editor's suggestion for correcting this verse is omitted. If he had looked at the first three editions, he would have seen that the word *quoth* had been left out in two places.

† *Thermes*, or *tharms*, are guts.

sore twined, must needs snap in sunder, to the destruction of many good bows. Moreover, you must look that your bow be well nocked, for fear the sharpness of the horn sheer asunder the string. And that chanceth oft when in bending, the string hath but one wap to strengthen it withal. You must mark also to set your string straight on, or else the one end shall writhe contrary to the other, and so break your bow. When the string beginneth never so little to wear, trust it not, but away with it; for it is an ill saved halfpenny, that costs a man a crown. Thus you see how many jeopardies hangeth over the silly poor bow, by reason only of the string. As when the string is short, when it is long, when either of the nocks be naught, when it hath but one wap, and when it tarrieth over long on.

Phi. I see well it is no marvel, though so many bows be broken.

Tox. Bows be broken twice as many ways beside these. But again, in stringing your bow, you must look for much bend or little bend, for they be clean contrary. The little bend hath but one commodity, which is in shooting faster, and farther shoot, and the cause thereof is, because the string hath so far a passage or it part with the shaft. The great bend hath many commodities; for it maketh easier shooting, the bow being half drawn before. It needeth no bracer, for the string stoppeth before it come at the arm. It will not so soon hit a man's sleeve or other gear, by the same reason. It hurteth not the shaft feather, as the low bend doth. It suffereth a man better to espy his mark. Therefore let your bow have good big bend, a shaftment and two fingers at the least, for these which I have spoken of.

Phi. The bracer, glove, and string, be done; now you must come to the bow, the chief instrument of all.

Tox. Divers countries and times have used always divers bows, and of divers fashions. Horn bows are used in some places now, and were used also in Homer's days; for Pandarus bow, the best shooter among all the Trojans, was made of two goat horns joined together; the length whereof, saith Homer, was sixteen hand-breadths, not far differing from the length of our bows. Scripture maketh mention of brass bows. Iron bows, and steel bows, have been of long time, and also now are used among the Turks; but yet they must needs be unprofitable. For if brass, iron, or steel, have their own strength and pith in them, they be far above man's strength: if they be made meet for man's strength, their pith is nothing worth to shoot any shoot withal. The Ethiopians had bows of palm-tree, which seemed to be very strong; but we have none experience of them. The length of them was four cubits. The men of Inde had their bows made of a reed, which was of a great strength. And no marvel though bow and shafts were made thereof; for the reeds be so great in Inde, as Herodotus saith, that of every joint of a reed a man may make a fisher's boat. These bows, saith Arrianus in Alexander's life, gave so great a stroke, that no harness or buckler, though it were never so strong, could withstand it. The length of such a bow was even with the length of him that used it. The Lycians used bows made of a tree, called in Latin *Cornus* (as concerning the name of it in English, I can sooner prove that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it myself,) this wood is as hard as horn, and very fit for shafts, as shall be told after. Ovid showeth that Syringa the nymph, and one

of the maidens of Diana, had a bow of this wood, whereby the poet meaneth, that it was very excellent to make bows of.

As for Brazil, elm, wych, and ash, experience doth prove them to be but mean for bows; and so to conclude, yew, of all other things, is that whereof perfect shooting would have a bow made. This wood as it is now general and common amongst Englishmen, so hath it continued from long time, and had in most price for bows, amongst the Romans, as doth appear in this half verse of Virgil:

Taxi torquentur in arcus.
Yew fit for a bow to be made on.

Now, as I say, a bow of yew must be had for perfect shooting at the pricks; which mark, because it is certain, and most certain rules may be given of it, shall serve for our communication at this time. A good bow is known, much-what as good counsel is known, by the end and proof of it; and yet both a bow and good counsel may be made both better and worse, by well or ill handling of them, as oftentimes chanceth. And as a man both must and will take counsel of a wise and honest man, though he see not the end of it; so must a shooter, of necessity, trust an honest and good bowyer for a bow, afore he know the proof of it. And as a wise man will take plenty of counsel afore-hand, whatsoever need, so a shooter should have always three or four bows in store, whatsoever chance.

Phi. But if I trust bowyers always, sometime I am like to be deceived.

Tox. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bow, that you shall be the seldomer deceived. If you come into a shop, and find a bow that is small, long,

heavy, and strong, lying straight, not winding, not marred with knot gall, wind-shake, wem, fret or pinch, buy that bow of my warrant. The best colour of a bow that I find, is when the back and the belly in working be much-what after one manner, for such oftentimes in wearing do prove like virgin wax or gold, having a fine long grain, even from the one end of the bow to the other; the short grain, although such prove well sometime, are for the most part very brittle. Of the making of the bow, I will not greatly meddle, lest I should seem to enter into another man's occupation, which I can no skill of. Yet I would desire all bowyers to season their staves well, to work them and sink them well, to give them heats convenient, and tillerings * plenty. For thereby they should both get themselves a good name, (and a good name increaseth a man's profit much,) and also do great commodity to the whole realm. If any men do offend in this point, I am afraid they be those journeymen, which labour more speedily to make many bows for their money sake, than they work diligently to make good bows for the commonwealth sake, not laying before their eyes this wise proverb, "Soon enough, if well enough;" wherewith every honest handy-craftsmen should measure, as it were with a rule, his work withal. He that is a journeyman, and rideth upon another man's horse, if he ride an honest pace, no man will disallow him; but if he make post haste, both he that owneth the horse, and he peradventure also that afterward shall buy the horse, may chance to curse him. Such hastiness, I am afraid, may also be found amongst some of them which, throughout the realm, in divers places,

* *Tillering* is a word of art which I do not understand.

work the King's artillery for war; thinking, if they get a bow or a sheaf of arrows to some fashion, they be good enough for bearing gear. And thus that weapon, which is the chief defence of the realm, very oft doth little service to him that should use it, because it is so negligently wrought of him that should make it; when truly I suppose that neither the bow can be too good and chief wood, nor yet too well seasoned or truly made, with heatings and tillerings, neither that shaft too good wood, or too thoroughly wrought, with the best pinion feathers that can be gotten; wherewith a man shall serve his Prince, defend his country, and save himself from his enemy. And I trust no man will be angry with me for speaking thus, but those which find themselves touched therein: which ought rather to be angry with themself for doing so, than to be miscontent with me for saying so. And in no case they ought to be displeased with me, seeing this is spoken also after that sort, not for the noting of any person severally, but for the amending of every one generally.

But turn we again to know a good shooting bow for our purpose. Every bow is made either of a bough, of a plant, or of the bole of the tree. The bough commonly is very knotty, and full of pins, weak, of small pith, and soon will follow the string, and seldom weareth to any fair colour; yet for children and young beginners it may serve well enough. The plant proveth many times well, if it be of a good and clean growth; and, for the pith of it, is quick enough of cast, it will ply and bow far afore it break, as all other young things do. The bole of the tree is cleanest without knot or pin, having a fast and hard wood, by reason of his full growth, strong and mighty of cast, and best for a bow, if the staves be even cloven, and be afterwards

wrought, not overthwart the wood, but as the grain and straight growing of the wood leadeth a man; or else, by all reason, it must soon break, and that in many shivers. This must be considered in the rough wood, and when the bow staves be over-wrought and fashioned. For in dressing and piking it up for a bow, it is too late to look for it.

But yet in these points, as I said before, you must trust an honest bowyer, to put a good bow in your hand, somewhat looking yourself to those tokens I showed you. And you must not stick for a groat or twelvepence more than another man would give, if it be a good bow. For a good bow twice paid for, is better than an ill bow once broken.

Thus a shooter must begin, not at the making of his bow, like a bowyer, but at the buying of his bow, like an archer. And, when his bow is bought and brought home, afore he trust much upon it, let him try and trim it after this sort.

Take your bow into the field, shoot in him, sink him with dead heavy shafts, look where he cometh most, provide for that place betimes, lest it pinch, and so fret: when you have thus shot in him, and perceived good shooting wood in him, you must have him again to a good, cunning, and trusty workman, which shall cut him shorter, and pike him and dress him fitter, make him come round compass everywhere, and whipping at the ends, but with discretion, lest he whip in sunder, or else fret, sooner than he is ware of: he must also lay him straight, if he be cast, or otherwise need require; and if he be flat made, gather him round, and so shall he both shoot the faster for far shooting, and also the surer for near pricking.

Phi. What if I come into a shop, and spy out a bow, which shall both then please me very well when I buy

him, and be also very fit and meet for me when I shoot in him; so that he be both weak enough for easy shooting, also quick and speedy enough for far casting; then, I would think, I shall need no more business with him, but be content with him, and use him well enough, and so, by that means, avoid both great trouble, and also some cost, which you cunning archers very often put yourselves unto, being very Englishmen, never ceasing piddling about your bow and shafts, when they be well, but either with shorting and piking your bows, or else with new feathering, piecing and heading your shafts, can never have done until they be stark naught.

Tox. Well, Philologe, surely if I have any judgment at all in shooting, it is no very great good token in a bow, whereof nothing when it is new and fresh need be cut away; even as Cicero saith of a young man's wit and style, which you know better than I. For every new thing must always have more than it needeth, or else it will not wax better and better, but ever decay, and be worse and worse. New ale, if it run not over the barrel when it is new tunned, will soon lease [*lose*] his pith* and his head afore he be long drawn on. And likewise as that colt, which, at the first taking up, needeth little breaking and handling, but is fit and gentle enough for the saddle, seldom or never proveth well: even so that bow, which at the first buying, without any more proof and trimming, is fit and easy to shoot in, shall neither be profitable to last long, nor yet pleasant to shoot well. And therefore as a young horse full of courage, with handling and breaking is brought unto a sure pace and going, so

* *Pith* is strength, sprightliness, vigour, power of action.

shall a new bow, fresh and quick of cast, by sinking and cutting be brought to a stedfast shooting. And an easy and gentle bow, when it is new, is not much unlike a soft-spirited boy, when he is young. But yet, as of an unruly boy with right handling, proveth oftenest of all a well-ordered man; so of an unfit and staffish bow, with good trimming, must needs follow always a stedfast shooting bow. And such a perfect bow, which never will deceive a man, except a man deceive it, must be had for that perfect end which you look for in shooting.

Phi. Well, Toxophile, I see well you be cunninger in this gear than I; but put case that I have three or four such good bows, piked and dressed as you now speak of, yet I do remember that many learned men do say, that it is easier to get a good thing, than to save and keep a good thing; wherefore, if you can teach me as concerning that point, you have satisfied me plentifully as concerning a bow.

Tox. Truly it was the next thing that I would have come unto, for so the matter lay. When you have brought your bow to such a point as I speak of, then you must have an herden or woollen cloth waxed, wherewith every day you must rub and chafe your bow, till it shine and glitter withal: which thing shall cause it both to be clean, well favoured, goodly of colour, and shall also bring, as it were, a crust over it, that is to say, shall make it every where on the outside so slippery and hard, that neither any wet or weather can enter to hurt it, nor yet any fret, or pinch, be able to bite upon it; but that you shall do it great wrong before you break it. This must be done oftentimes, but especially when you come from shooting.

Beware also when you shoot off your shaft heads, dagger, knives, or agglets, lest they rase your bow; a

thing, as I said before, both unseemly to look on, and also dangerous for frets. Take heed also of misty and dankish days, which shall hurt a bow more than any rain. For then you must either always rub it, or else leave shooting.

Your bow-case (this I did not promise to speak of, because it is without the nature of shooting, or else I should trouble me with other things infinite more: yet seeing it is a safeguard for the bow, something I will say of it) your bow-case, I say, if you ride forth, must neither be too wide for your bows, for so shall one clap upon another, and hurt them, nor yet so strait that scarce they can be thrust in, for that would lay them on side, and wind them. A bow case of leather is not the best; for that is oft-times moist, which hurteth the bows very much.

Therefore I have seen good shooters which would have for every bow a sere case, made of woollen cloth, and then you may put three or four of them, so cased, into a leather case if you will. This woollen case shall both keep them in sunder, and also will keep a bow in his full strength, that it never give for any weather.

At home these wood * cases be very good for bows to stand in. But take heed that your bow stand not too near a stone wall, for that will make him moist and weak, nor yet too near any fire, for that will make him short and brittle. And thus much as concerning the saving and keeping of your bow; now you shall hear what things you must avoid, for fear of breaking your bow.

A shooter chanceth to break his bow commonly four

* There is no mention of wooden cases before, therefore it should perhaps be *wool cases*, unless something be left out by the printer.

ways; by the string, by the shaft, by drawing too far, and by frets. By the string, as I said before, when the string is either too short, too long, not surely put on, with one wap, or put crooked on, or shorn in sunder with an evil nock, or suffered to tarry over-long on. When the string fails the bow must needs break, and especially in the middle; because both the ends have nothing to stop them; but whips so far back, that the belly must needs violently rise up, the which you shall well perceive in bending of a bow backward. Therefore a bow that followeth the string is least hurt with breaking of strings.

By the shaft a bow is broken, either when it is too short, and so you set it in your bow, or when the nock breaks for littleness, or when the string slips without the nock for wideness, then you pull it to your ear and lets it go, which must needs break the shaft at the least, and put string and bow and all in jeopardy, because the strength of the bow hath nothing in it to stop the violence of it. This kind of breaking is most perilous for the standers-by, for in such a case you shall see some time the end of a bow fly a whole score from a man, and that most commonly, as I have marked oft, the upper end of the bow.

The bow is drawn too far two ways. Either when you take a longer shaft than your own, or else when you shift your hand too low or too high for shooting far. This way pulleth the back in sunder, and then the bow flieth in many pieces.

So when you see a bow broken, having the belly risen up both ways or tone, the string brake it. When it is broken in two pieces, in a manner even off, and specially in the upper end, the shaft nock brake it. When the back is pulled asunder in many pieces,

too far drawing brake it. These tokens either always be true, or else very seldom miss.

The fourth thing that breaketh a bow is frets, which make a bow ready and apt to break by any of the three ways aforesaid. Frets be in a shaft as well as in a bow, and they be much like a canker, creeping and increasing in those places in a bow, which be weaker than other. And for this purpose must your bow be well trimmed and piked of a cunning man, that it may come round in true compass every where. For frets you must beware if your bow have a knot in the back, lest the places which be next it be not allowed strong enough to bear with the knot, or else the strong knot shall fret the weak places next it. Frets be first little pinches, the which when you perceive, pike the places about the pinches, to make them somewhat weaker, and as well coming as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall die, and never increase further into great frets.

Frets begin many times in a pin, for there the good wood is corrupted, that it must needs be weak; and because it is weak, therefore it frets. Good bowyers therefore do raise every pin, and allow it more wood for fear of fretting.

Again, bows most commonly fret under the hand, not so much as some men suppose for the moistness of the hand, as for the heat of the hand. The nature of heat, saith Aristotle, is to loose, and not to knit fast, and the more looser the more weaker, the more weaker the readier to fret.

A bow is not well made which hath not wood plenty in the hand. For if the ends of the bow be staffish, or a man's hand any thing hot, the belly must needs soon fret. Remedy for frets to any purpose I never heard tell of any, but only to make the fretted place

as strong, or stronger, than any other. To fill up the fret with little shivers of a quill and glue, as some say will do well, by reason must be stark nought. For, put case the fret did cease then; yet the cause which made it fret afore, (and that is weakness of the place,) because it is not taken away, must needs make it fret again. As for cutting out of frets, with all manner of piecing of bows, I will clean exclude from perfect shooting. For pieced bows be much like old houses, which be more chargeable to repair than commodious to dwell in. And again, to swaddle a bow much about with bands, very seldom doth any good, except it be to keep down a spell in the back, otherwise bands either need not, when the bow is anything worth, or else boot not, when it is marred and past best. And although I know mean and poor shooters will use pieced and banded bows sometime, because they are not able to get better when they would; yet, I am sure, if they consider it well, they shall find it both less charge and more pleasure, to bestowe* at any time a couple of shillings of a new bow, than to bestow ten pence of piecing an old bow. For better is cost upon somewhat worth, than spence [*expence*] upon nothing worth. And this I speak also, because you would have me refer all to perfectness in shooting.

Moreover, there is another thing, which will soon cause a bow to be broken by one of the three ways which be first spoken of; and that is shooting in winter,† when there is any frost. Frost is wheresoever is any waterish humour, as is in all woods, either more or less; and you know that all things frozen and icy will rather break than bend. Yet, if a man must needs

* The 1st edition has *ware*, the 2nd and the 3rd read *bestowe*.

† Boyle somewhere mentions a Pole, who related that the cold of his country's winters broke his bow.

shoot at any such time, let him take his bow and bring it to the fire; and there, by little and little, rub and chafe it with a waxed cloth, which shall bring it to that point that he may shoot safely enough in it. This rubbing with wax, as I said before, is a great succour against all wet and moistness. In the fields also, in going betwixt the pricks, either with your hand, or else with a cloth, you must keep your bow in such a temper.

And thus much as concerning your bow, how first to know what wood is best for a bow, then to choose a bow, after to trim a bow, again to keep it in goodness; last of all, how to save it from all harm and evilness. And although many men can say more of a bow, yet I trust these things be true, and almost sufficient for the knowledge of a perfect bow.

Phi. Surely I believe so, and yet I could have heard you talk longer on it; although I cannot see what may be said more of it. Therefore, except you will pause a while, you may go forward to a shaft.

Tox. What shafts were made of in old time, authors do not so manifestly show, as of bows. Herodotus doth tell, that in the flood of Nilus there was a beast, called a Water Horse, of whose skin, after it was dried, the Egyptians made shafts and darts on. The tree called Cornus was so common to make shafts of, that, in good authors of the Latin tongue, Cornus is taken for a shaft, as in Seneca, and that place of Virgil,

Volat Itala cornus.

Yet, of all things that ever I marked of old authors, either Greek or Latin, for shafts to be made of, there is nothing so common as reeds. Herodotus, in describing the mighty host of Xerxes, doth tell, that three great countries used shafts made of a reed; the Ethiopians, the Lycians (whose shafts lacked feathers, whereat I

marvel most of all), and the men of Inde. The shafts in Inde were very long, a yard and an half, as Arrianus doth say; or at the least a yard, as Q. Curtius doth say, and therefore they gave the greater stripe; but yet, because they were so long, they were the more unhandsome, and less profitable to men of Inde, as Curtius doth tell.

In Crete and Italy they used to have their shafts of reed also. The best reed for shafts grew in Inde, and in Rhenus, a flood of Italy. But, because such shafts be neither easy for Englishmen to get, and, if they were gotten, scarce profitable for them to use, I will let them pass, and speak of those shafts which Englishmen, at this day, most commonly do approve and allow. A shaft hath three principal parts, the stele, the feathers, and the head; whereof every one must be severally spoken of.

Steles be made of divers woods: as,

Brazil,	Service-tree,
Turkey wood,	Hulder [*Alder*],
Fustic,	Blackthorn,
Sugar-chest,	Beech,
Hardbeam,	Elder,
Birch,	Asp,
Ash,	Sallow.
Oak,	

These woods, as they be most commonly used, so they be most fit to be used: yet some one fitter than another for divers men's shooting, as shall be told afterward. And in this point, as in a bow, you must trust an honest fletcher. Nevertheless, although I cannot teach you to make a bow or a shaft, which belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to come to their living, yet will I show you some tokens to know a bow and a

shaft, which pertaineth to an archer to come to good shooting.

A stele must be well seasoned for casting,* and it must be made as the grain lieth, and as it groweth, or else it will never fly clean, as cloth cut overthwart, and against the wool, can never hose a man clean. A knotty stele may be suffered in a big shaft, but for a little shaft it is nothing fit, both because it will never fly far; and, besides that it is ever in danger of breaking, it flyeth not far because the strength of the shoot is hindered and stopped at the knot, even as a stone cast into a plain even still water, will make the water move a great space; yet, if there be any whirling plat in the water, the moving ceaseth when it cometh at the whirling plat, which is not much unlike a knot in a shaft, if it be considered well. So everything as it is plain and straight of his own nature, so is it fittest for far moving. Therefore a stele which is hard to stand in a bow without knot, and straight, (I mean not artificially straight as the fletcher doth make it, but naturally straight as it groweth in the wood,) is best to make a shaft of, either to go clean, fly far, or stand surely in any weather.

Now how big, how small, how heavy, how light, how long, how short, a shaft should be particularly for every man, seeing we must talk of the general nature of shooting, cannot be told; no more than you rhetoricians can appoint any one kind of words, of sentences, of figures, fit for every matter; but even as the man and the matter requireth, so the fittest to be used. Therefore as concerning those contraries in a shaft, every man must avoid them, and draw to the

* *Seasoned for casting*, that is, well seasoned to hinder it from warping.

mean of them, which mean is best in all things. Yet if a man happen to offend in any of the extremes, it is better to offend in want and scantness, than in too much and outrageous exceeding. As it is better to have a shaft a little too short than over-long, somewhat too light than over-lumpish, a little too small than a great deal too big; which thing is not only truly said in shooting, but in all other things that ever man goeth about; as in eating, talking, and all other things like; which matter was once excellently disputed upon in the schools, you know when.

And to offend in these contraries, cometh much, if men take not heed, through the kind of wood whereof the shaft is made; for some wood belongs to the exceeding part, some to the scant part, some to the mean, as Brazil, Turkey wood, fustic, sugar-chest, and such like, make dead, heavy, lumpish, hobbling shafts. Again, alder, blackthorn, service tree, beech, elder, asp, and sallow, either for their weakness or lightness, make hollow, starting, studding, gadding shafts. But birch, hardbeam, some oak, and some ash, being both strong enough to stand in a bow, and also light enough to fly far, are best for a mean, which is to be sought out in every thing. And although I know that some men shoot so strong, that the dead woods be light enough for them, and other some so weak, that the loose woods be likewise for them big enough, yet generally, for the most part of men, the mean is the best. And so to conclude, that is always best for a man which is meetest for him. Thus no wood of his own nature is either too light or too heavy, but as the shooter is himself which doth use it. For that shaft, which one year for a man is too light and scudding, for the self-same man the next year may chance to be heavy and hobbling.

with Brazil or holly, to counterweigh with the head; and I have seen some for the same purpose bore a hole a little beneath the nock, and put lead in it. But yet none of these ways be any thing needful at all: for the nature of a feather in flying, if a man mark it well, is able to bear up a wonderful weight; and I think such piecing came up first thus: when a good archer hath broken a good shaft in the feathers, and for the fantasy he hath had to it, he is loth to lose it, and therefore doth he piece it. And then by and by, other, either because it is gay, or else because they will have a shaft like a good archer, cutteth their whole shafts, and pieceth them again; a thing, by my judgment, more costly than needful. And thus have you heard what wood, what fashion, what nocking, what piecing, a stele must have. Now followeth the feathering.

Phi. I would never have thought you could have said half so much of a stele; and, I think as concerning the little feather, and the plain head, there is but little to say.

Tox. Little! yes, truly: for there is no one thing in all shooting so much to be looked on as the feather. For, first, a question may be asked: Whether any other thing beside a feather, be fit for a shaft or no? If a feather only be fit, whether a goose feather only or no? If a goose feather be best, then whether there be any difference as concerning the feather of an old goose and a young goose; a gander or a goose; a fenny goose or an uplandish goose? Again, which is best feather in any goose, the right wing or the left wing; the pinion feather or any other feather; a white, black, or grey feather; Thirdly, in setting on of your feather, whether it is pared or drawn with a thick rib or a thin rib, (the rib is the hard quill which divideth the feather,) a long

feather better or a short, set on near the nock or far from the nock, set on straight or somewhat bowing; and whether one or two feathers run on the bow? Fourthly, in couling or sheering, whether high or low, whether somewhat swine-backed (I must use shooters' words) or saddle-backed, whether round or square shorn? And whether a shaft at any time ought to be plucked, and how to be plucked?

Phi. Surely, Toxophile, I think many fletchers, although daily they have these things in use, if they were asked suddenly, what they would say of a feather, they could not say so much. But I pray you let me hear you more at large express those things in a feather, the which you packed up in so narrow a room. And first, whether any other thing may be used for a feather or not?

Tox. That was the first point indeed; and because there followeth many after, I will hie apace over them, as one that had many a mile to ride. Shafts to have had always feathers, Pliny in Latin, and Julius Pollux in Greek, do plainly show; yet only the Lycians I read in Herodotus to have used shafts without feathers. Only a feather is fit for a shaft for two causes; first because it is leath,* weak to give place to the bow, then because it is of that nature that it will start up after the bow. So plate, wood, or horn, cannot serve, because they will not give place. Again, cloth, paper, or parchment, cannot serve, because they will not rise after the bow; therefore a feather is only meet, because it only will do both. Now, to look on the feathers of all manner of birds, you shall see some so low, weak, and short, some so coarse, stoore, and hard, and the rib

* *Leath* is limber, flexible, easily giving way. Milton calls it *lithe*.

so brickle, thin and narrow, that it can neither be drawn, pared, nor yet will set on; that except it be a swan for a dead shaft, (as I know some good archers have used,) or a duck for a flight, which lasts but one shot, there is no feather but only of a goose that hath all commodities in it. And truly at a short butt, which some men doth use, the peacock feather doth seldom keep up the shaft either right or level, it is so rough and heavy; so that many men, which have taken them up for gayness, hath laid them down again for profit: thus, for our purpose, the goose is the best feather for the best shooter.

Phi. No, that is not so; for the best shooter that ever was, used other feathers.

Tox. Yea, are you so cunning in shooting? I pray you who was that?

Phi. Hercules, which had his shafts feathered with eagles' feathers, as Hesiodus doth say.

Tox. Well, as for Hercules, seeing neither water nor land, heaven nor hell, could scarce content him to abide in, it was no marvel though a silly poor goose-feather could not please him to shoot withal; and again, as for eagles, they fly so high, and build so far off, that they be very hard to come by. Yet, well fare the gentle goose, which bringeth to a man, even to his door, so many exceeding commodities. For the goose is man's comfort in war and in peace, sleeping and waking. What praise soever is given to shooting, the goose may challenge the best part in it. How well doth she make a man fare at his table? How easily doth she make a man lie in his bed? How fit even as her feathers be only for shooting, so be her quills fit only for writing.

Phi. Indeed, Toxophile, that is the best praise you

gave to a goose yet; and surely I would have said you had been to blame, if you had overskipt it.

Tox. The Romans, I trow, Philologe, not so much because a goose with crying saved their capitol, and head tower, with their golden Jupiter, as Propertius doth say very prettily in this verse,

Anseris et tutum voce fuisse Jovem,
Id est,
Thieves on a night had stolen Jupiter, had a goose not a kekede [*cackled*],

did make a golden goose, and set her in the top of the capitolium, and appointed also the censors to allow out of the common hutch yearly stipends, for the finding of certain geese;—the Romans did not, I say, give all this honour to a goose for that good deed only, but for other infinite mo, which come daily to a man by geese; and surely if I should declaim in the praise of any manner of best living, I would choose a goose. But the goose hath made us flee too far from our matter. Now, Sir, ye have heard how a feather must be had, and that a goose feather only; it followeth of a young goose and an old, and the residue belonging to a feather; which thing I will shortly course over; whereof, when you know the properties, you may fit your shafts according to your shooting, which rule you must observe in all other things too, because no one fashion or quantity can be fit for every man, no more than a shoe or a coat can be. The old goose feather is stiff and strong, good for a wind, and fittest for a dead shaft: the young goose feather is weak and fine, best for a swift shaft; and it must be couled at the first sheering, somewhat high, for with shooting it will settle and fall very much. The same thing (although not so much) is to be considered in a goose and a gander.

A fenny goose, even as her flesh is blacker, stoorer, unwholsomer, so is her feather, for the same cause, coarser, stoorer, and rougher; and therefore I have heard very good fletchers say, that the second feather in some place is better than the pinion in other some. Betwixt the wings is little difference, but that you must have divers shafts of one flight, feathered with divers wings, for divers winds; for if the wind and the feather go both one way, the shaft will be carried too much. The pinion feathers, as it hath the first place in the wing, so it hath the first place in good feathering. You may know it before it be pared, by a bought which is in it; and again when it is cold, by the thinness above, and the thickness at the ground; and also by the stiffness and fineness which will carry a shaft better, faster, and further, even as a fine sail-cloth doth a ship.

The colour of the feather is least to be regarded, yet somewhat to be looked on; for a good white you have sometime an ill grey. Yet, surely it standeth with good reason, to have the cock-feather black or grey, as it were to give a man warning to nock right. The cock-feather is called that which standeth above in right nocking; which if you do not observe, the other feathers must needs run on the bow, and so marr your shot. And thus far of the goodness and choice of your feather: now followeth the setting on. Wherein you must look that your feathers be not drawn for hastiness, but pared even and straight with diligence. The fletcher draweth a feather when it hath but one swap at it with his knife, and then plaineth it a little, with rubbing it over his knife. He pareth it when he taketh leisure and heed to make every part of the rib apt to stand straight and even on upon the stele. This thing if a man take not heed on, he may chance have cause

to say so of his fletcher, as in dressing of meat is commonly said of cooks; and that is, that God sendeth us good feathers, but the devil naughty fletchers. If any fletchers heard me say thus, they would not be angry with me, except they were ill fletchers; and yet by reason, those fletchers too ought rather to amend themselves for doing ill, than be angry with me for saying truth. The rib in a stiff feather may be thinner, for so it will stand cleaner on; but in a weak feather you must leave a thicker rib, or else if the rib, which is the foundation and ground wherein nature hath set every cleft of the feather, be taken too near the feather, it must needs follow, that the feather shall fall and droop down, even as any herb doth which hath his root too near taken on with a spade. The length and shortness of the feather serveth for divers shafts, as a long feather for a long, heavy, or big shaft, the short feather for the contrary. Again, the short may stand farther, the long nearer the nock. Your feather must stand almost straight on, but yet after that sort, that it may turn round in flying.

And here I consider the wonderful nature of shooting, which standeth altogether by that fashion which is most apt for quick moving, and that is by roundness. For first the bow must be gathered round, in drawing it must come round compass, the string must be round, the stele must be round, the best nock round, the feather shorn somewhat round, the shaft in flying must turn round; and, if it fly far, it flieth a round compass, for either above or beneath a round compass hindereth the flying. Moreover, both the fletcher in making your shaft, and you in nocking your shaft, must take heed that two feathers equally run on the bow. For if one feather run alone on the bow, it shall quickly

be worn, and shall not be able to match with the other feathers; and again, at the loose, if the shaft be light, it will start; if it be heavy, it will hobble. And thus as concerning setting on of your feather. Now of couling.

To sheer a shaft high or low, must be as the shaft is, heavy or light, great or little, long or short; the swine-backed fashion maketh the shaft deader, for it gathereth more air than the saddle-backed; and therefore the saddle-back is surer for danger of weather, and fitter for smooth flying. Again, to sheer a shaft round, as they were wont sometimes to do, or after the triangle fashion, which is much used now-a-days, both be good. For roundness is apt for flying of his own nature, and all manner of triangle fashion, (the sharp point going before) is also naturally apt for quick entering; and therefore saith Cicero, that cranes, taught by nature, observe in flying a triangle fashion always, because it is so apt to pierce and go through the air withal. Last of all, plucking of feathers is nought, for there is no surety in it; therefore let every archer have such shafts, that he may both know them and trust them at every change of weather. Yet, if they must needs be plucked, pluck them as little as can be, for so shall they be the less unconstant. And thus I have knit up in as short a room as I could, the best feathers, feathering, and couling of a shaft.

Phi. I think surely you have so taken up the matter with you, that you have left nothing behind you. Now you have brought a shaft to the head, which, if it were on, we had done as concerning all instruments belonging to shooting.

Tox. Necessity, the inventor of all goodness (as all authors in a manner do say), amongst all other things

made it of strong matter, to last better: last of all, invented a shaft head, first to save the end from breaking; then it made it sharp, to stick better; after it made it of strong matter to last better: last of all, experience and wisdom of men hath brought it to such a perfectness, that there is no one thing so profitable belonging to artillery, either to strike a man's enemy sorer in war, or to shoot nearer the mark at home, than is a fit head for both purposes. For if a shaft lack a head, it is worth nothing for neither use. Therefore, seeing heads be so necessary, they must of necessity be well looked upon. Heads for war, of long time hath been made, not only of divers matters, but also of divers fashions. The Trojans had heads of iron, as this verse, spoken of Pandarus, showeth;

Up to the pap his string did he pull, his shaft to the hard iron.

The Grecians had heads of brass, as Ulysses' shafts were headed, when he slew Antoninus and the other wooers of Penelope.

—— Quite through a door flew a shaft with a brass head.

It is plain in Homer, where Menelaus was wounded of Pandarus shafts, that the heads were not glued on, but tied on with a string, as the commentaries in Greek plainly tell. And therefore shooters, at that time, used to carry their shafts without heads, until they occupied them, and then set on an head; as it appeareth in Homer, the twenty-first book Odyssei, where Penelope brought Ulixes bow down amongst the gentlemen which came on wooing to her, that he which was able to bend it and draw it might enjoy her; and after her followed a maid, saith Homer, carrying a bag full of heads, both of iron and brass.

The men of Scythia used heads of brass. The men

of Inde used heads of iron. The Ethiopians used heads of a hard sharp stone, as both Herodotus and Pollux do tell. The Germans, as Cornelius Tacitus doth say, had their shafts headed with bone; and many countries, both of old time and now, use heads of horn. But, of all other, iron and steel must needs be the fittest for heads. Julius Pollux calleth otherwise than we do, where the feathers be the head, and that which we call the head, he calleth the point.

Fashion of heads is divers, and that of old time: two manner of arrow heads, saith Pollux, was used in old time. The one he calleth ὄγκινος, describing it thus, having two points or barbs, looking backward to the stele and the feathers, which surely we call in English a broad arrow head, or a swallow tail. The other he calleth γλῶχις, having two points stretching forward, and this Englishmen do call a fork head; both these two kinds of heads were used in Homer's days; for Teucer used forked heads, saying thus to Agamemnon:

Eight good shafts have I shot sith I came, each one with a fork head.

Pandarus heads and Ulysses' heads were broad arrow heads, as a man may learn in Homer, that would be curious in knowing that matter. Hercules used forked heads, but yet they had three points or forks, when other men's had but two. The Parthians at that great battle where they slew rich Crassus and his son, used broad arrow heads, which stuck so sore that the Romans could not pull them out again. Commodus the Emperor used forked heads, whose fashion Herodian doth lively and naturally describe, saying, that they were like the shape of a new moon, wherewith he would smite off the head of a bird, and never

miss: other fashion of heads have not I read on. Our English heads be better in war than either forked heads or broad arrow heads. For first, the end being lighter, they fly a great deal the faster, and, by the same reason, giveth a far sorer stripe. Yea, and I suppose, if the same little barbs which they have were clean put away, they should be far better. For this every man doth grant, that a shaft, as long as it flieth, turns,* and when it leaveth turning, it leaveth going any further. And everything that enters by a turning and boring fashion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters; as a knife, though it be sharp, yet, because of the edges, will not bore so well as a bodkin, for every round thing enters best; and therefore nature, saith Aristotle, made the rain-drops round, for quick piercing the air. Thus, either shafts turn not in flying, or else our flat arrow heads stop the shaft in entering.

Phi. But yet, Toxophile, to hold your communication a little, I suppose the flat head is better, both because it maketh a greater hole, and also because it sticks faster in.

Tox. These two reasons, as they be both true, so they be both naught. For first, the less hole, if it be deep, is the worse to heal again: when a man shooteth at his enemy, he desireth rather that it should enter far, than stick fast. For what remedy is it, I pray you, for him which is smitten with a deep wound, to pull out the shaft quickly, except it be to haste his death speedily? Thus heads which make a little hole and deep, be better in war, than those which make a great

* If it be true, as I believe it is, that a shaft turns round in flying, it is not true that triangular shafts are good for piercing, as has been said by the author, nor that Commodus could intercept the neck of a bird between the two points of a half-moon.

hole and stick fast in. Julius Pollux maketh mention of certain kinds of heads for war, which bear fire in them, and Scripture also speaketh somewhat of the same. Herodotus doth tell a wonderful policy to be done by Xerxes, what time he besieged the great tower in Athens: he made his archers bind their shaft heads about with tow, and then set it on fire and shoot them; which thing done by many archers, set all the places on fire, which were of matter to burn; and, besides that, dazed the men within, so that they knew not whither to turn them. But, to make an end of all heads for war, I would wish that the head-makers of England should make their sheaf-arrow heads more harder pointed than they be: for I myself have seen of late such heads set upon sheaf-arrows, as the officers, if they had seen them, would not have been content withal.

Now as concerning heads for pricking, which is our purpose, there be divers kinds; some be blunt heads, some sharp, some both blunt and sharp. The blunt heads men use, because they perceive them to be good to keep a length withal; they keep a good length, because a man pulleth them no further at one time than at another; for in feeling the plump end always equally, he may loose them. Yet, in a wind, and against the wind, the weather hath so much power on the broad end, that no man can keep no sure length with such a head; therefore a blunt head, in a calm or down a wind, is very good, otherwise none worse. Sharp heads at the end, without any shoulders, (I call that the shoulder in a head which a man's finger shall feel afore it comes to the point,) will perch quickly through a wind; but yet it hath two discommodities; the one that it will keep no length; it keepeth no length, because no man can

pull it certainly as far one time as at another: it is not drawn certainly so far one time as at another, because it lacketh shouldering, wherewith, as with a sure token, a man might be warned when to loose; and also because men are afraid of the sharp point for setting it in the bow. The second incommodity is, when it is lighted on the ground, the small point shall at every time be in jeopardy of hurting, which thing, of all other, will soonest make the shaft lose the length. Now, when blunt heads be good to keep a length withal, yet naught for a wind; sharp heads good to perch the weather withal, yet naught for a length; certain head-makers dwelling in London, perceiving the commodity of both kind of heads joined with a discommodity, invented new files and other instruments, wherewith they brought heads for pricking to such a perfectness, that all the commodities of the two other heads should be put in one head, without any discommodity at all. They made a certain kind of heads, which men call high-rigged, creased, or shouldered heads, or silver-spoon heads, for a certain likeness that such heads have with the knob end of some silver spoons. These heads be good both to keep a length withal, and also to perch a wind withal. To keep a length withal, because a man may certainly pull it to the shouldering every shoot, and no further; to perch a wind withal, because the point, from the shoulder forward, breaketh the weather, as all other sharp things do. So the blunt shoulder serveth for a sure length keeping, the point also is ever fit for a rough and great weather piercing. And thus much, as shortly as I could, as concerning heads both for war and peace.

Phi. But is there no cunning as concerning setting on of the head?

Tox. Well remembered. But that point belongeth to fletchers; yet you may desire him to set your head full on, and close on. Full on, is when the wood is bet [*beat*] hard up to the end or stopping of the head; close on, is when there is left wood on every side the shaft enough to fill the head withal, or when it is neither too little nor yet too great. If there be any fault in any of these points, the head, when it lighteth on any hard stone, or ground, will be in jeopardy, either of breaking, or else otherwise hurting. Stopping of heads, either with lead or any thing else, shall not need now, because every silver spoon, or shouldered head, is stopped of itself. Short heads be better than long: for first, the long head is worse for the maker to file straight compass every way; again, it is worse for the fletcher to set straight on; thirdly, it is always in more jeopardy of breaking when it is on. And now, I trow, Philologe, we have done as concerning all instruments belonging to shooting, which every sere archer ought to provide for himself. And there remaineth two things behind, which be general or common to every man, the weather and the mark; but, because they be so knit with shooting straight, or keeping of a length, I will defer them to that place; and now we will come (God willing) to handle our instruments, the thing that every man desireth to do well.

Phi. If you teach me so well to handle these instruments as you have described them, I suppose I shall be an archer good enough.

Tox. To learn any thing, (as you know better than I, Philologe,) and specially to do a thing with a man's hands, must be done, if a man would be excellent, in his youth. Young trees in gardens, which lack all senses, and beasts without reason, when they be

young, may, with handling and teaching, be brought to wonderful things.

And this is not only true in natural things, but in artificial things too; as the potter most cunningly doth cast his pots when his clay is soft and workable, and wax taketh print when it is warm, and leathie weak, not when clay and wax be hard and old: and even so, every man in his youth, both with wit and body, is most apt and pliable to receive any cunning that should be taught him.

This communication of teaching youth, maketh me remember the right worshipful, and my singular good master, Sir Humphrey Wingfield, to whom, next God, I ought to refer, for his manifold benefits bestowed on me, the poor talent of learning which God hath lent me; and for his sake do I owe my service to all other of the name and noble house of the Wingfields, both in word and deed. This worshipful man hath ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house, amongst whom I myself was one. For whom at term-times he would bring down from London both bow and shafts; and, when they should play, he would go with them himself into the field, and see them shoot; and he that shot fairest, should have the best bow and shafts; and he that shot ill-favouredly should be mocked of his fellows, till he shot better.

Would to God all England had used, or would use, to lay the foundation, after the example of this worshipful man, in bringing up children in the book and the bow! by which two things the whole commonwealth, both in peace and war, is chiefly ruled and defended withal.

But to our purpose: He that must come to this high perfectness in shooting, which we speak of, must needs

begin to learn it in his youth; the omitting of which thing in England, both maketh fewer shooters, and also every man, that is a shooter, shoot worse than he might if he were taught.

Phi. Even as I know that this is true which you say, even so, Toxophile, have you quite discouraged me, and drawn my mind clean from shooting; seeing, by this reason, no man that hath not used it in his youth can be excellent in it. And I suppose the same reason would discourage many other mo, if they heard you talk after this sort.

Tox. This thing, Philologe, shall discourage no man that is wise. For I will prove that wisdom may work the same thing in a man, that nature doth in a child.

A child by three things is brought to excellency. By aptness, desire, and fear: aptness maketh him pliable, like wax, to be formed and fashioned, even as a man would have him. Desire, to be as good, or better than his fellows; and fear of them whom he is under, will cause him take great labour and pain with diligent heed in learning any thing, whereof proceedeth, at the last, excellency and perfectness.

A man may, by wisdom in learning any thing, and specially to shoot, have three like commodities also, whereby he may, as it were, become young again, and so attain to excellency. For as a child is apt by natural youth, so a man by using at the first weak bows, far underneath his strength, shall be as pliable and ready to be taught fair shooting as any child; and daily use of the same shall both keep him in fair shooting, and also at the last bring him to strong shooting.

And, instead of the fervent desire which provoketh a child to be better than his fellow, let a man be as much

stirred up with shamefacedness to be worse than all other. And the same place that fear hath in a child, to compel him to take pain, the same hath love of shooting in a man, to cause him forsake no labour, without which no man nor child can be excellent. And thus, whatsoever a child may be taught by aptness, desire, and fear, the same thing in shooting may a man be taught by weak bows, shamefacedness, and love.

And hereby you may see that that is true which Cicero saith; that a man, by use, may be brought to a new nature. And this I dare be bold to say, that any man which will wisely begin, and constantly persevere in this trade of learning to shoot, shall attain to perfectness therein.

Phi. This communication, Toxophile, doth please me very well; and now I perceive that most generally and chiefly youth must be taught to shoot; and, secondarily, no man is debarred therefrom, except it be more through his own negligence, for because he will not learn, than any disability because he cannot learn. Therefore, seeing I will be glad to follow your counsel in choosing my bow and other instruments, and also am ashamed that I can shoot no better than I can; moreover, having such a love toward shooting by your good reasons to-day, that I will forsake no labour in the exercise of the same; I beseech you imagine that we had both bow and shafts here, and teach me how I should handle them; and one thing I desire you, make me as fair an archer as you can.

For this I am sure, in learning all other matters, nothing is brought to the most profitable use, which is not handled after the most comely fashion. As masters of fence have no stroke fit either to hit another, or else

to defend himself, which is not joined with a wonderful comeliness. A cook cannot chop his herbs neither quickly nor handsomely, except he keep such a measure with his chopping-knives, as would delight a man both to see him and hear him. Every handcraftman that works best for his own profit, works most seemly to other men's sight. Again, in building a house, in making a ship, every part, the more handsomely they be joined for profit and last,* the more comely they be fashioned to every man's sight and eye.

Nature itself taught men to join always well-favouredness with profitableness. As in man, that joint or piece which is by any chance deprived of his comeliness, the same is also debarred of his use and profitableness. And he that is goggle-eyed, and looks asquint, hath both his countenance clean marred, and his sight sore blemished; and so in all other members like. Moreover what time of the year bringeth most profit with it for man's use, the same also covereth and decketh both earth and trees with most comeliness for man's pleasure. And that time which taketh away the pleasure of the ground, carrieth with him also the profit of the ground, as every man by experience knoweth in hard and rough winters. Some things there be which have no other end but only comeliness, as painting and dancing. And virtue itself is nothing else but comeliness, as all philosophers do agree in opinion; therefore seeing that which is best done in any matters, is always most comely done, as both Plato and Cicero in many places do prove, and daily experience doth teach in other things, I pray you, as I said before, teach me to shoot as fair, well-favouredly, as you can imagine.

Tox. Truly, Philologe, as you prove very well in other

* *Profit and last*, convenience and duration.

matters, the best shooting is always the most comely shooting; but this you know, as well as I, that Crassus showeth in Cicero, that, as comeliness is the chief point, and most to be sought for in all things, so comeliness only can never be taught by any art or craft; but may be perceived well when it is done, not described well how it should be done. Yet, nevertheless, to come to it there be many ways, which wise men have assayed in other matters; as if a man would follow, in learning to shoot fair, the noble painter Zeuxes in painting Helena, which, to make his image beautiful, did choose out five of the fairest maids in all the country about; and in beholding them, conceived and drew out such an image, that it far exceeded all other, because the comeliness of them all was brought into one most perfect comeliness: so likewise in shooting, if a man would set before his eyes five or six of the fairest archers that ever he saw shoot, and of one learn to stand, of another to draw, of another to loose, and so take of every man what every man could do best; I dare say, he should come to such a comeliness as never man came to yet. As for an example, if the most comely point in shooting that Hewe Prophete the king's servant hath, and as my friends Thomas and Ralph Cantrell doth use with the most seemly fashions that three or four excellent archers have beside, were all joined in one, I am sure all men would wonder at the excellency of it. And this is one way to learn to shoot fair.

Phi. This is very well, truly; but I pray you teach me somewhat of shooting fair yourself.

Tox. I can teach you to shoot fair, even as Socrates taught a man once to know God: for, when he axed [*asked*] him what was God, nay, saith he, I can tell you better what God is not; as, God is not ill, God is unspeak-

able, unsearchable, and so forth: even likewise can I say of fair shooting, it hath not this discommodity with it nor that discommodity; and, at last, a man may so shift all the discommodities from shooting, that there shall be left nothing behind but fair shooting. And to do this the better, you must remember how that I told you, when I described generally the whole nature of shooting, that fair shooting came of these things, of standing, nocking, drawing, holding, and loosing; the which I will go over as shortly as I can, describing the discommodities that men commonly use in all parts of their bodies; that you, if you fault in any such, may know it, and so go about to amend it. Faults in archers do exceed the number of archers, which come with use of shooting without teaching. Use and custom separated from knowledge and learning, doth not only hurt shooting, but the most weighty things in the world beside; and, therefore, I marvel much at those people which be the maintainers of uses without knowledge, having no other word in their mouth but this, Use, use, Custom, custom. Such men, more wilful than wise, beside other discommodities, take all place and occasion from all amendment. And this I speak generally of use and custom. Which thing, if a learned man had it in hand that would apply it to any one matter, he might handle it wonderfully. But, as for shooting, use is the only cause of all faults in it; and therefore children more easily and sooner may be taught to shoot excellently than men, because children may be taught to shoot well at the first, men have more pain to unlearn their ill uses, than they have labour afterward to come to good shooting.

All the discommodities which ill custom hath graffed in archers, can neither be quickly pulled out, nor yet

soon reckoned of me, they be so many. Some shooteth his head forward, as though he would bite the mark; another stareth with his eyes, as though they should fly out; another winketh with one eye and looketh with the other; some make a face with writhing their mouth and countenance so, as though they were doing you wot what; another bleareth out his tongue; another biteth his lips; another holdeth his neck awry. In drawing some fet such a compass, as though they would turn about, and bless* all the field; other heave their hand now up now down, that a man cannot discern whereat they would shoot: another waggeth the upper end of his bow one way, the nether end another way. Another will stand pointing his shaft at the mark a good while, and, by and by, he will give him a whip, and away or a man wit. Another maketh such a wrestling with his gear, as though he were able to shoot no more as long as he lived. Another draweth softly to the midst, and, by and by, it is gone you cannot know how. Another draweth his shaft low at the breast, as though he would shoot at a roving mark, and by and by, he lifteth his arm up prick height. Another maketh a wrenching with his back, as though a man pinched him behind. Another cowereth down, and layeth out his buttocks, as though he should shoot at crows. Another setteth forward his left leg, and draweth back with head and shoulders, as though he pulled at a rope, or else were afraid of the mark. Another draweth his shaft well, until within two fingers of the head, and then he stayeth a little, to look at his mark, and, that

* This alludes to the actions of the Romish priest in public benedictions. This passage may explain a very obscure phrase in Spenser, who calls waving the sword in circles, blessing the sword.

done, pulleth it up to the head, and looseth; which way, although some excellent shooters do use, yet surely it is a fault, and good men's faults are not to be followed. Some men draw too far, some too short, some too slowly, some too quickly; some hold over-long, some let go over-soon. Some set their shaft on the ground, and fetcheth him upward; another pointeth up toward the sky, and so bringeth him downwards.

Once I saw a man which used a bracer on his cheek, or else he had scratched all the skin of the one side of his face with his drawing-hand. Another I saw which, at every shot, after the loose, lifted up his right leg so far that he was ever in jeopardy of falling. Some stamp forward, and some leap backward. All these faults be either in the drawing, or at the loose; with many other mo, which you may easily perceive, and so go about to avoid them.

Now afterward, when the shaft is gone, men have many faults, which evil custom hath brought them to; and specially in crying after the shaft, and speaking words scarce honest for such an honest pastime.

Such words be very tokens of an ill mind, and manifest signs of a man that is subject to immeasurable affections. Good men's ears do abhor them, and an honest man therefore will avoid them. And besides those which must needs have their tongue thus walking, other men use other faults, as some will take their bow and writhe and wrench it, to pull in his shaft, when it flieth wide, as if he drave a cart. Some will give two or three strides forward, dancing and hopping after his shaft, as long as it flieth, as though he were a mad man. Some, which fear to be too far gone, run backward, as it were to pull his shaft back. Another runneth forward, when he feareth to be short, heaving after his arms, as though he would help his shaft to fly. An-

other writhes or runneth aside, to pull in his shaft straight. One lifteth up his heel, and so holdeth his foot still, as long as his shaft flieth. Another casteth his arm backward after the loose. And another swings his bow about him, as it were a man with a shaft to make room in a game place. And many other faults there be, which now come not to my remembrance. Thus, as you have heard, many archers, with marring their face and countenance, with other parts of their body, as it were men that should dance anticks, be far from the comely port in shooting, which he that would be excellent must look for.

Of these faults I have very many myself; but I talk not of my shooting, but of the general nature of shooting. Now imagine an archer that is clean without all these faults, and I am sure every man would be delighted to see him shoot.

And although such a perfect comeliness cannot be expressed with any precept of teaching, as Cicero and other learned men do say, yet I will speak (according to my little knowledge) that thing in it, which if you follow, although you shall not be without fault, yet your fault shall neither quickly be perceived, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stand by. Standing, nocking, drawing, holding, loosing, done as they should be done, make fair shooting.

The first point is, when a man should shoot to take such footing and standing, as shall be both comely to the eye and profitable to his use, setting his countenance and all the other parts of his body after such a behaviour and port, that both all his strength may be employed to his own most advantage, and his shoot made and handled to other men's pleasure and delight. A man must not go too hastily to it, for that is rash-

ness, nor yet make too much to do about it, for that is curiosity; the one foot must not stand too far from the other, lest he stoop too much, which is unseemly, nor yet too near together, lest he stand too straight up, for so a man shall neither use his strength well, nor yet stand stedfastly.

The mean betwixt both must be kept; a thing more pleasant to behold when it is done, than easy to be taught how it should be done.

To nock well is the easiest point of all, and therein is no cunning, but only diligent heed-giving, to set his shaft neither too high nor too low, but even straight overthwart his bow. Unconstant nocking maketh a man loose his length. And besides that, if the shaft hand be high, and the bow hand low, or contrary, both the bow is in jeopardy of breaking, and the shaft, if it be little, will start; if it be great, it will hobble. Knock the cock feather upward always, as I told you when I described the feather. And be sure always that your string slip not out of the nock, for then all is in jeopardy of breaking.

Drawing well is the best part of shooting. Men in old time used other manner of drawing than we do. They used to draw low at the breast, to the right pap, and no further; and this to be true is plain in Homer, when he describeth Pandarus shooting:

Up to the pap his string did he pull, his shaft to the hard head.

The noble women of Scythia used the same fashion of shooting low at the breast, and, because their left pap hindered their shooting at the loose, they cut it off when they were young, and therefore they be called, in lacking their pap, Amazones. Now-a-day, contrariwise, we draw to the right ear, and not to the pap.

Whether the old way in drawing low to the pap, or the new way to draw aloft to the ear, be better, an excellent writer in Greek, called Procopius, doth say his mind, showing that the old fashion in drawing to the pap was nought, of no pith, and therefore, saith Procopius, is artillery dispraised in Homer, which calleth it οὐτίδανον, i. e. weak, and able to do no good. Drawing to the ear he praiseth greatly, whereby men shoot both stronger and longer: drawing therefore to the ear is better than to draw at the breast. And one thing cometh into my remembrance now, Philologe, when I speak of drawing, that I never read of other kind of shooting, than drawing with a man's hand either to the breast or ear: this thing have I sought for in Homer, Herodotus, and Plutarch, and therefore I marvel how crossbows came first up, of the which, I am sure, a man shall find little mention made in any good author. Leo the Emperor would have his soldiers draw quickly in war, for that maketh a shaft fly apace. In shooting at the pricks, hasty and quick drawing is neither sure nor yet comely. Therefore to draw easily and uniformly, that is for to say, not wagging your hand, now upward, now downward, but always after one fashion, until you come to the rig or shouldering of the head, is best both for profit and seemliness. Holding must not be long, for it both putteth a bow in jeopardy, and also marreth a man's shoot; it must be so little, that it may be perceived better in a man's mind when it is done, than seen with a man's eyes when it is in doing. Loosing must be much like. So quick and hard, that it be without all girds; so soft and gentle, that the shaft fly not as it were sent out of a bow-case. The mean betwixt both, which is perfect loosing, is not so hard to be followed

in shooting as it is to be described in teaching. For clean loosing, you must take heed of hitting any thing about you. And for the same purpose, Leo the Emperor would have all archers in war to have both their heads polled, and their beards shaven, lest the hair of their heads should stop the sight of the eye, the hair of their beards hinder the course of the string. And these precepts I am sure, Philologe, if you follow, in standing, nocking, drawing, holding, and loosing, shall bring you at the last to excellent fair shooting.

Phi. All these things, Toxophile, although I both now perceive them thoroughly, and also will remember them diligently; yet to-morrow, or some other day when you have leisure, we will go to the pricks, and put them by little and little in experience. For teaching not followed, doeth even as much good as books never looked upon. But now, seeing you have taught me to shoot fair, I pray you tell me somewhat, how I should shoot near, lest that proverb might be said justly of me some time, "He shoots like a gentleman fair and far off."

Tox. He that can shoot fair, lacketh nothing but shooting straight, and keeping of a length, whereof cometh hitting of the mark, the end both of shooting, and also of this our communication. The handling of the weather and the mark, because they belong to shooting straight and keeping of a length, I will join them together, showing what things belong to keeping of a length, and what to shooting straight.

The greatest enemy of shooting is the wind and the weather, whereby true keeping a length is chiefly hindered. If this thing were not, men, by teaching, might be brought to wonderful near shooting. It is no marvel if the little poor shaft, being sent alone so

high into the air, into a great rage of weather, one wind tossing it that way, another this way; it is no marvel, I say, though it leese [*lose*] the length, and miss that place where the shooter had thought to have found it. Greater matters than shooting are under the rule and will of the weather, as sailing on the sea. And likewise, as in sailing, the chief point of a good master is to know the tokens of change of weather, the course of the winds, that thereby he may the better come to the haven: even so the best property of a good shooter is to know the nature of the winds, with him and against him, and thereby he may the nearer shoot at his mark. Wise masters, when they cannot win the best haven, they are glad of the next: good shooters also, that cannot when they would hit the mark, will labour to come as nigh as they can. All things in this world be unperfect and unconstant; therefore let every man acknowledge his own weakness in all matters, great and small, weighty and merry, and glorify Him in whom only perfect perfectness is. But now, Sir, he that will at all adventures use the seas, knowing no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a calm, shall soon become a merchant of eel-skins: so that shooter which putteth no difference, but shooteth in all alike, in rough weather and fair, shall always put his winnings in his eyes. Little boats and thin boards cannot endure the rage of a tempest. Weak bows and light shafts cannot stand in a rough wind. And likewise as a blind man, which should go to a place where he had never been before, that hath but one straight way to it, and of either side holes and pits to fall into, now falleth into this hole, and then into that hole, and never cometh to his journey's end, but wandereth always here and there, farther and farther

off; so that archer which ignorantly shooteth, considering neither fair nor foul, standing nor nocking, feather nor head, drawing nor loosing, nor any compass, shall always shoot short and gone, wide and far off, and never come near, except perchance he stumble sometime on the mark. For ignorance is nothing else but mere blindness.

A master of a ship first learneth to know the coming of a tempest, the nature of it, and how to behave himself in it, either with changing his course, or pulling down his high tops and broad sails, being glad to eschew as much of the weather as he can; even so a good archer will first, with diligent use and marking the weather learn to know the nature of the wind; and, with wisdom, will measure in his mind, how much it will alter his shot, either in length, keeping, or else in straight shooting; and so, with changing his standing, or taking another shaft, the which he knoweth perfectly to be better for his purpose, either because it is lower feathered, or else because it is of a better wing, will so handle with discretion his shot, that he shall seem rather to have the weather under his rule, by good heed-giving, than the weather to rule his shaft by any sudden changing.

Therefore, in shooting, there is as much difference betwixt an archer that is a good weather man, and another that knoweth and marketh nothing, as is betwixt a blind man and he that can see.

Thus, as concerning the weather, a perfect archer must first learn to know the sure flight of his shafts, that he may be bold always to trust them; then must he learn by daily experience all manner of kinds of weather, the tokens of it, when it will come, the nature of it when it is come; the diversity and altering of it

when it changeth, the decrease and diminishing of it when it ceaseth. Thirdly, these things known and every shot diligently marked, then must a man compare always the weather and his footing together, and with discretion, measure them so that whatsoever the weather shall take away from his shoot, the same shall just footing restore again to his shoot. This thing well known, and discreetly handled in shooting, bringeth more profit and commendation and praise to an archer, than any other thing besides. He that would know perfectly the wind and weather, must put differences betwixt times. For diversity of time causeth diversity of weather, as in the whole year; spring time, summer, fall of the leaf, and winter: likewise in one day, morning, noontide, afternoon, and eventide, both alter the weather, and change a man's bow with the strength of man also. And to know that this is so, is enough for a shooter and artillery, and not to search the cause why it should be so: which belongeth to a learned man and philosophy. In considering the time of the year, a wise archer will follow a good shipman; in winter and rough weather, small boats and little pinks forsake the seas: and at one time of the year no galleys come abroad: so likewise weak archers using small and hollow shafts, with bows of little pith must be content to give place for a time. And this I do not say, either to discourage any weak shooter; for likewise, as there is no ship better than galleys be in a soft and a calm sea, so no man shooteth comelier, or nearer his mark, than some weak archers do in a fair and clear day.

Thus every archer must know, not only what bow and shaft is fittest for him to shoot withal, but also what time and season is best for him to shoot in. And surely, in all other matters too, among all degrees

of men, there is no man which doth any thing either more discreetly for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his advantage than he which will know perfectly for what matter, and for what time he is most apt and fit. If men would go about matters which they should do, and be fit for, not such things which wilfully they desire, and yet be unfit for, verily greater matters in the commonwealth than shooting should be in better case than they be. This ignorancy in men which know not for what time, and to what thing they be fit, causeth some wish to be rich, for whom it were better a great deal to be poor; other to be meddling in every man's matter, for whom it were more honesty to be quiet and still. Some to desire to be in the court, which be born and be fitter rather for the cart. Some to be masters and rule other, which never yet began to rule themselves; some always to jangle and talk, which rather should hear and keep silence. Some to teach which rather should learn. Some to be priests which were fitter to be clerks. And this perverse judgment of the world, when men measure themselves amiss, bringeth much disorder and great unseemliness to the whole body of the commonwealth; as if a man should wear his hose upon his head, or a woman go with a sword and a buckler, every man would take it as a great uncomeliness, although it be but a trifle in respect of the other.

This perverse judgment of men hindereth nothing so much as learning, because commonly those which be unfittest for learning, be chiefly set to learning. As if a man now-a-days have two sons, the one impotent, weak, sickly, lisping, stuttering, and stammering, or having any mis-shape in his body; what doth the father of such one commonly say? This boy is fit for nothing else but to set to learning and make a priest of; as who

would say the outcasts of the world, having neither countenance, tongue, nor wit, (for of a perverse body cometh commonly a perverse mind,) be good enough to make those men of, which shall be appointed to preach God's holy word, and minister his blessed sacraments, besides other most weighty matters in the commonwealth, put oftimes, and worthily, to learned men's discretion and charge; when rather such an office, so high in dignity, so godly in administration, should be committed to no man, which should not have a countenance full of comeliness to allure good men, a body full of manly authority to fear * ill men, a wit apt for all learning, with tongue and voice able to persuade all men. And although few such men as these can be found in a commonwealth, yet surely a godly disposed man will both in his mind think fit, and with all his study labour to get such men as I speak of, or rather better, if better can be gotten, for such an high administration, which is most properly appointed to God's own matters and businesses.

This perverse judgment of fathers, as concerning the fitness and unfitness of their children, causeth the commonwealth have many unfit ministers; and seeing that ministers be, as a man would say, instruments wherewith the commonwealth doth work all her matters withal, I marvel how it chanceth that a poor shoemaker hath so much wit, that he will prepare no instrument for his science, neither knife nor awl, nor nothing else, which is not very fit for him: the commonwealth can be content to take at a fond father's hand the rif raff of the world to make those instruments of, wherewithal she should work the highest matters under heaven. And surely an awl of lead is not so

* To *fear* is to *terrify*.

unprofitable in a shoemaker's shop, as an unfit minister, made of gross metal, is unseemly in the commonwealth. Fathers in old time among the noble Persians might not do with their children as they thought good, but as the judgment of the commonwealth always thought best. This fault of fathers bringeth many a blot with it, to the great deformity of the commonwealth; and here surely I can praise gentlewomen, which have always at hand their glasses, to see if any thing be amiss, and so will amend it; yet the commonwealth, having the glass of knowledge in every man's hand, doth see such uncomeliness in it and yet winketh at it. This fault, and many such like, might be soon wiped away, if fathers would bestow their children on that thing always, whereunto nature hath ordained them most apt and fit. For if youth be grafted straight, and not awry, the whole commonwealth will flourish thereafter. When this is done, then must every man begin to be more ready to amend himself than to check another, measuring their matters with that wise proverb of Apollo, "Know thyself:" that is to say, learn to know what thou art able, fit and apt unto, and follow that. This thing should be both comely to the commonwealth, and most profitable for every one; as doth appear very well in all wise men's deeds, and specially (to turn to our communication again) in shooting, where wise archers have always their instruments fit for their strength, and wait evermore such time and weather as is most agreeable to their gear. Therefore, if the weather be too sore, and unfit for your shooting, leave off for that day, and wait a better season. For he is a fool that will not go whom necessity driveth.

Phi. This communication of yours pleased me so well, Toxophile, that surely I was not hasty to call you to

describe forth the weather, but with all my heart would have suffered you yet to have stood longer in this matter. For these things touched of you by chance, and by the way, be far above the matter itself, by whose occasion the other were brought in.

Tox. Weighty matters they be indeed, and fit both in another place to be spoken, and of another man than I am to be handled. And, because mean men must meddle with mean matters, I will go forward in describing the weather as concerning shooting: and, as I told you before, in the whole year, spring-time, summer, fall of the leaf, and winter; and in one day, morning, noon-time, afternoon, and eventide, altereth the course of the weather, the pith of the bow, the strength of the man. And in every one of these times, the weather altereth; as sometime windy, sometime calm, sometime cloudy, sometime clear, sometime hot, sometime cold, the wind sometime moisty and thick, sometime dry and smooth. A little wind in a moisty day stoppeth a shaft more than a good whisking wind in a clear day. Yea, and I have seen when there hath been no wind at all, the air so misty and thick, that both the marks have been wonderful great. And once, when the plague was in Cambridge, the down wind * twelve score mark for the space of three weeks was thirteen score and an half, and into the wind, being not very great, a great deal above fourteen score.

The wind is sometime plain up and down, which is commonly most certain, and requireth least knowledge, wherein a mean shooter, with mean gear, if he can shoot home, may make best shift. A side wind trieth an archer and good gear very much. Sometime it bloweth aloft, sometime hard by the ground; some-

* *The down wind*, &c. This passage I do not fully understand.

time it bloweth by blasts, and sometime it continueth all in one; sometime full side wind, sometime quarter with him, and more; and likewise against him, as a man with casting up light grass, or else if he take good heed, shall sensibly learn by experience. To see the wind with a man his eyes it is unpossible, the nature of it is so fine and subtile; yet this experience of the wind had I once myself, and that was in the great snow that fell four years ago. I rode in the high way betwixt Topcliff-upon-Swale and Boroughbridge, the way being somewhat trodden before, by way-faring men; the fields on both sides were plain, and lay almost yard-deep with snow; the night afore had been a little frost, so that the snow was hard and crusted above; that morning the sun shone bright and clear, the wind was whistling aloft, and sharp, according to the time of the year; the snow in the high way lay loose and trodden with horses' feet; so as the wind blew, it took the loose snow with it, and made it so slide upon the snow in the field, which was hard and crusted by reason of the frost over night, that thereby I might see very well the whole nature of the wind as it blew that day. And I had a great delight and pleasure to mark it, which maketh me now far better to remember it. Sometime the wind would be not past two yards broad, and so it would carry the snow as far as I could see. Another time the snow would blow over half the field at once. Sometime the snow would tumble softly; by and by it would fly wonderful fast. And this I perceived also, that the wind goeth by streams, and not whole together. For I should see one stream within a score on me; then the space of two score, no snow would stir; but, after so much quantity of ground, another stream of snow, at the same very time, should be carried likewise, but not

equally, for the one would stand still, when the other flew apace and so continue sometime swiftlier, sometime slowlier, sometime broader, sometime narrower, as far as I could see. Nor it flew not straight, but sometime it crooked this way, sometime that way, and sometime it ran round about in a compass. And sometime the snow would be lift clean from the ground up to the air, and by and by it would be all clapt to the ground, as though there had been no wind at all, straightway it would rise and fly again. And that which was the most marvel of all, at one time two drifts of snow flew, the one out of the west into the east, the other out of the north into the east. And I saw two winds, by reason of the snow, the one cross over the other, as it had been two high ways. And, again, I should hear the wind blow in the air, when nothing was stirred at the ground. And when all was still where I rode, not very far from me the snow should be lifted wonderfully. This experience made me more marvel at the nature of the wind, than it made me cunning in the knowledge of the wind; but yet thereby I learned perfectly that it is no marvel at all though men in wind lose their length in shooting, seeing so many ways the wind is so variable in blowing.

But seeing that a master of a ship, be he never so cunning, by the uncertainty of the wind, loseth many times both life and goods: surely it is no wonder, though a right good archer, by the self same wind, so variable in his own nature, so insensible to our nature, lose many a shoot and game.

The more uncertain and deceivable the wind is, the more heed must a wise archer give to know the guiles of it. He that doth mistrust is seldom beguiled. For although thereby he shall not attain to that which is

best, yet by these means he shall at least avoid that which is worst. Beside all these kinds of winds, you must take heed if you see any cloud appear, and gather by little and little against you, or else, if a shower of rain be like to come upon you, for then both the driving of the weather and the thickening of the air increaseth the mark; when, after the shower, all things are contrary clear and calm, and the mark, for the most part, new to begin again. You must take heed also, if ever you shoot where one of the marks, or both, stands a little short of a high wall, for there you may be easily beguiled. If you take grass and cast it up, to see how the wind stands, many times you shall suppose to shoot down the wind, when you shoot clean against the wind. And a good reason why. For the wind which cometh indeed against you, redoundeth back again at the wall, and whirleth back to the prick, and a little farther, and then turneth again, even as a vehement water doth against a rock, or an high bray; which example of water, as it is more sensible to a man's eyes, so it is never a whit the truer than this of the wind. So that the grass cast up shall flee that way which indeed is the longer mark, and deceive quickly a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I once myself at Norwich, in the chapel field within the walls. And this way I used in shooting at those marks. When I was in the mid way betwixt the marks, which was an open place, there I took a feather or a little light grass; and so, as well as I could, learned how the wind stood; that done I went to the prick as fast as I could, and, according as I had found the wind when I was in the mid way, so I was fain then to be content to make the best of my shoot that I could. Even such another experience had I, in a man-

ner, at York, at the pricks lying betwixt the castle and Ouse side. And although you smile, Philologe, to hear me tell mine own fondness; yet, seeing you will needs have me teach you somewhat in shooting, I must needs sometime tell you of mine own experience; and the better I may do so, because Hippocrates, in teaching physic, useth very much the same way. Take heed also when you shoot near the sea coast although you be two or three miles from the sea; for there diligent marking shall espy in the most clear day wonderful changing. The same is to be considered likewise by a river side, especially if it ebb and flow, where he that taketh diligent heed of the tide and weather, shall lightly take away all that he shooteth for. And thus of the nature of winds and weather, according to my marking, you have heard, Philologe: and hereafter you shall mark far mo yourself, if you take heed. And the weather thus marked, as I told you before, you must take heed of your standing, that thereby you may win as much as you shall lose by the weather.

Phi. I see well it is no marvel though a man miss many times in shooting, seeing the weather is so unconstant in blowing; but yet there is one thing which many archers use, that shall cause a man have less need to mark the weather, and that is aim-giving.

Tox. Of giving aim, I cannot tell well what I should say. For in a strange place it taketh away all occasion of foul game, which is the only praise of it; yet by my judgment, it hindereth the knowledge of shooting, and maketh men more negligent; the which is a dispraise. Though aim be given, yet take heed, for at another man's shot you cannot well take aim, nor at your own neither, because the weather will alter, even in a minute, and at the one mark, and not at the other, and trouble your

shaft in the air, when you shall perceive no wind at the ground, as I myself have seen shafts tumble aloft in a very fair day. There may be a fault also in drawing or loosing, and many things mo, which altogether are required to keep a just length. But, to go forward, the next point after the marking of your weather, as the taking of your standing. And, in a side wind, you must stand somewhat cross into the wind, for so shall you shoot the surer. When you have taken good footing, then must you look at your shaft, that no earth, nor wet, be left upon it, for so should it lose the length. You must look at the head also, lest it have had any stripe at the last shoot. A stripe upon a stone, many times will both mar the head, crook the shaft, and hurt the feather, whereof the least of them all will cause a man lose his length. For such things which chance every shoot, many archers use to have some place made in their coat, fit for a little file, a stone, a hunfish skin, and a cloth to dress the shaft fit again at all needs. This must a man look to ever when he taketh up his shaft. And the head may be made too smooth, which will cause it fly too far; when your shaft is fit, then must you take your bow even in the midst, or else you shall both lose your length, and put your bow in jeopardy of breaking. Nocking just is next, which is much of the same nature. Then draw equally, loose equally, with holding your hand ever of one height to keep true compass. To look at your shaft head at the loose is the greatest help to keep a length that can be, which thing yet hindereth excellent shooting, because a man cannot shoot straight perfectly except he look at his mark; if I should shoot at a line, and not at the mark, I would always look at my shaft end; but of this thing somewhat afterward. Now, if you mark the weather diligently, keep your standing

justly, hold and nock truly, draw and loose equally, and keep your compass certainly, you shall never miss of your length.

Phi. Then there is nothing behind to make me hit the mark, but only shooting straight.

Tox. No truly. And I first will tell you what shifts archers have found to shoot straight, then what is the best way to shoot straight. As the weather belongeth specially to keep a length (yet a side wind belongeth also to shoot straight) even so the nature of the prick is to shoot straight. The length or shortness of the mark is always under the rule of the weather, yet somewhat there is in the mark, worthy to be marked of an archer. If the pricks stand of a straight plain ground, they be the best to shoot at. If the mark stand on a hill-side or the ground be unequal with pits and turning ways betwixt the marks, a man's eye shall think that to be straight which is crooked; the experience of this thing is seen in painting, the cause of it is known by learning; and it is enough for an archer to mark it, and take heed of it. The chief cause why men cannot shoot straight, is because they look at their shaft; and this fault cometh, because a man is not taught to shoot when he is young. If he learn to shoot by himself, he is afraid to pull the shaft through the bow, and therefore looketh always at his shaft; ill use confirmeth this fault, as it doth many more. And men continue the longer in this fault, because it is so good to keep a length withal: and yet, to shoot straight, they have invented some ways to espy a tree or a hill beyond the mark, or else to have some notable thing betwixt the marks; and once I saw a good archer which did cast off his gear and laid his quiver with it, even in the mid-way betwixt the pricks. Some thought he did it

for safeguard of his gear: I suppose he did it to shoot straight withal. Other men use to espy some mark almost a bow wide of the prick, and then go about to keep himself on the hand that the prick is on; which thing how much good it doth, a man will not believe, that doth not prove it. Other, and those very good archers, in drawing, look at the mark until they come almost to the head, then they look at their shaft; but, at the very loose, with a second sight, they find their mark again. This way and all other afore of me rehearsed, are but shifts, and not to be followed in shooting straight. For having a man's eye always on his mark, is the only way to shoot straight; yea, and I suppose, so ready and easy a way, if it be learned in youth, and confirmed with use, that a man shall never miss therein. Men doubt yet in looking at the mark what way is best, whether betwixt the bow and the string, above or beneath his hand, and many ways moo; yet it maketh no great matter which way a man look at his mark, if it be joined with comely shooting. The diversity of men's standing and drawing causeth divers men look at their mark divers ways; yet they all lead a man's hand to shoot straight, if nothing else stop. So that comeliness is the only judge of best looking at the mark. Some men wonder why, in casting a man's eye at the mark, the hand should go straight: surely if he considered the nature of a man's eye, he would not wonder at it: for this I am certain of, that no servant to his master, no child to his father, is so obedient, as every joint and piece of the body is to do whatsoever the eye bids. The eye is the guide, the ruler, and the succourer of all the other parts. The hand, the foot, and other members, dare do nothing without the eye, as doth appear on the night and dark

corners. The eye is the very tongue wherewith wit and reason doth speak to every part of the body, and the wit doth not so soon signify a thing by the eye, as every part is ready to follow, or rather prevent the bidding of the eye. This is plain in many things, but most evident in fence and fighting, as I have heard men say. There every part standing in fear to have a blow, runs to the eye for help, as young children do to the mother; the foot, the hand, and all waiteth upon the eye. If the eye bid the hand either bear off or smite, or the foot either go forward or backward, it doth so; and that which is most wonder of all, the one man looking stedfastly at the other man's eye, and not at his hand, will, even as it were, read in his eye where he purposeth to smite next, for the eye is nothing else but a certain window for wit to shoot out her head at.

This wonderful work of God in making all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasant thing to remember and look upon; therefore an archer may be sure, in learning to look at his mark when he is young, always to shoot straight. The things that hinder a man which looketh at his mark, to shoot straight, be these: a side wind; a bow either too strong, or else too weak; an ill arm, when a feather runneth on the bow too much; a big-breasted shaft, for him that shooteth under hand, because it will hobble; a little-breasted shaft for him that shooteth above the hand, because it will start; a pair of winding pricks, and many other things moo, which you shall mark yourself, and as ye know them, so learn to amend them. If a man would leave to look at his shaft, and learn to look at his mark, he may use this way, which a good shooter told me once that he did. Let him take his bow on the night, and shoot at two lights, and there he shall be compelled to look al-

ways at his mark, and never at his shaft: this thing, once or twice used, will cause him forsake looking at his shaft. Yet let him take heed of setting his shaft in the bow.

Thus, Philologe, to shoot straight is the least mastery of all, if a man order himself thereafter in his youth. And as for keeping a length, I am sure, the rules which I gave you will never deceive you; so that there shall lack nothing, either of hitting the mark always, or else very near shooting, except the fault be only in your own self, which may come two ways, either in having a faint heart or courage, or else in suffering yourself overmuch to be led with affection: if a man's mind fail him, the body, which is ruled by the mind, can never do his duty; if lack of courage were not, men might do mo masteries than they do, as doth appear in leaping and vaulting.

All affections, and specially anger, hurteth both mind and body. The mind is blind thereby, and if the mind be blind, it cannot rule the body aright. The body, both blood and bone, as they say, is brought out of his right course by anger; whereby a man lacketh his right strength, and therefore cannot shoot well. If these things be avoided (whereof I will speak no more, both because they belong not properly to shooting, and also you can teach me better in them than I you), and all the precepts which I have given you diligently marked, no doubt ye shall shoot as well as ever man did yet, by the grace of God.

This communication handled of me, Philologe, as I know well not perfectly, yet, as I suppose, truly, you must take in good worth; wherein if divers things do not altogether please you, thank yourself, which would have me rather fault in mere folly, to take that thing

in hand which I was not able for to perform, than by any honest shamefacedness with-say your request and mind, which I know well I have not satisfied. But yet I will think this labour of mine the better bestowed, if to-morrow, or some other day when you have leisure, you will spend as much time with me here in this same place, in entreating the question *De origine animæ*, and the joining of it with the body, that I may know how far Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics have waded in it.

Phi. How you have handled this matter, Toxophile, I may not well tell you myself now; but, for your gentleness and good-will towards learning and shooting, I will be content to show you any pleasure whensoever you will; and now the sun is down, therefore, if it please you, we will go home and drink in my chamber, and there I will tell you plainly what I think of this communication, and also what day we will appoint, at your request, for the other matter to meet here again.

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[*Imprints of the first two editions of the Toxophilus.*]

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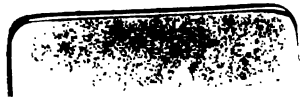
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